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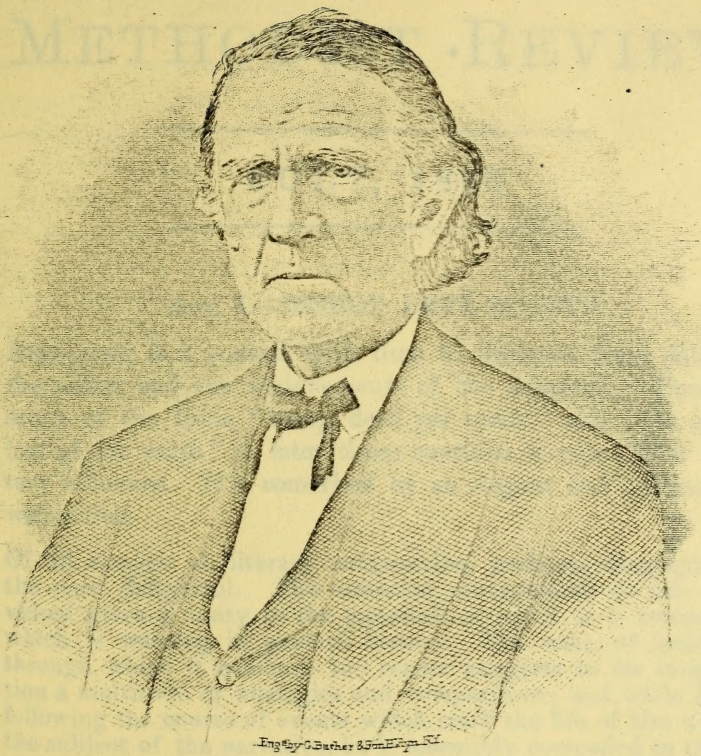

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Levi Scott

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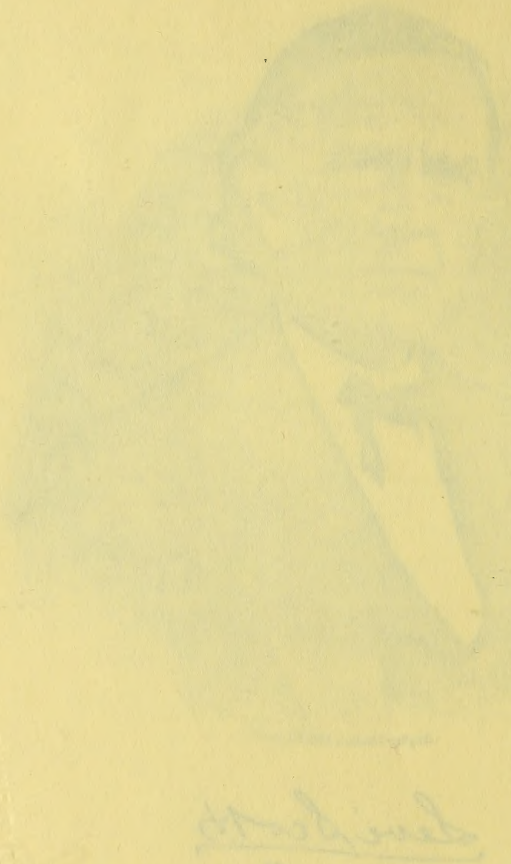
LEVI SCOTT, A.M. D.D.

Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1881.



METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1886.

ART. I.—BISHOP LEVI SCOTT.*

BIOGRAPHY is a contest with time to preserve from oblivion the names and the achievements of the departed. Thus the saints of the Bible "being dead yet speak," and "the excellent of the earth" in later times continue to exert their salutary influence. It is remarked by an elegant and philosophic writer that

> Of all species of literary composition, perhaps, biography is the most delightful. The attention concentrated on one individual gives a unity to the materials of which it is composed, which is wanting in general history. The train of incidents through which it conducts the reader suggests to his imagination a multitude of analogies and comparisons; and while he is following the course of events which mark the life of him who is the subject of the narrative, he is insensibly compelled to take a retrospect of his own. In no other species of writing are we permitted to scrutinize the character so exactly, or form so just and accurate an estimate of the excellences and defects, the lights and shades, the blemishes and beauties, of an individual mind.

The departing prophet may leave to his successor nothing but his mantle. But with *this*, in the name of the "Lord God of Elijah," he may smite the waters and see them part. We, too, may seize something that remains of the excellent dead to overcome some difficulty in our way, or to reproduce the wonders or the works which they wrought or witnessed.

* "The Life and Times of Levi Scott, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By James Mitchell, D.D. With a Preface by Rev. D. P. Kidder, D.D., LL.D." New York: Phillips & Hunt.

"The Life and Times of Levi Scott," by James Mitchell, D.D., with preface by Dr. D. P. Kidder, presents to the Church a brief and instructive biography, with a fine likeness of one of the purest men in Methodism.

The man who gave sixty years to the Christian life, fifty-six years to the Gospel ministry, nearly thirty years to the episcopate, and attained the greatest age that any of our Bishops has ever reached, is worthy the notice given him.

It was the happiness of Dr. Mitchell to have had from Bishop Scott's own pen so much of a "memorial" of himself as furnished excellent material for the book. In much, therefore, the subject speaks for himself; and whether we read of his conversion to God, his call to the ministry, his voyage to and from Africa, his difficulties and dangers on that "Dark Continent," or the important service that he performed when he presided in the Conferences and impressed principles fundamental to our economy and success, we feel that no other person could so well give the account. The Bishop says:

I was born near Cantwell's Bridge, now Odessa, New Castle Co., Delaware, Oct. 11, 1802. My father, Thomas Scott, was of Irish descent, . . . my mother of English. Her maiden name was March. She was brought up in Kent Co., Maryland, where her father owned a beautiful farm near Chestertown. She was the widow of John Lattomus when my father married her. They had three children, Sarah, Thomas, and myself. I am the youngest. . . . At the time of my birth, my parents were both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and my father was a class-leader and local preacher. . . . In 1803 my father was received on trial in the Philadelphia Conference. [He died in about nine months.] When about to die, he held me up, and in the most solemn and impressive manner dedicated me to God, earnestly invoking at the same time his blessing upon me. Who can tell how far I have been indebted to this blessing of my dying father for the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit which have accompanied me through life, even in my wildest days?

Left a widow the second time, with three young children by her second marriage, and one quite young by her former husband, with debt on the farm, and with meager means of support, his mother "nobly grappled with the embarrassments of her situation, and conquered" them.

In the depth of her grief, in the magnitude of her care, and

the inevitable perplexity of her condition, she trusted in God, and, true to the responsibility of her relation, she kept up the worship of the family, and impressed her children with the lessons of religion. They were happy days in our history, when all our people recognized this duty—when family prayer was neither hurried nor perfunctory! Who shall tell what help comes to the pulpit from the instruction thus given and the impression so made? If our home altars have no fire, will the temple altars flame?

But vital piety runs not in blood. The best efforts of those we love and honor will not save us if the heart is wedded to the world. Notwithstanding all these blessed home influences, young Scott "departed from the living God." He says:

> I lost, to a great extent, my religious impressions and thoughtfulness, and became careless and disorderly in my conduct. I contracted that most wicked and foolish practice, profane swearing; yet I thank God I never was maliciously wicked, and always abhorred quarreling and fighting, and could never, without terrible remorse, allow myself to misbehave at a place of religious worship. Buoyant in spirit, I was fond of fun and frolic. But when at the worst I would look at those whom I regarded as truly religious and wish I were like them.

He loved the violin, and acquired skill in its use. To the last of life he regarded it as the "king of musical instruments." His excellence in this music made him an attraction, and opened wide before him the way of temptation. Nor did he utterly refuse to enter upon this path.

To the extent of his ability he aided in the support of the family by farming and fishing during two thirds of the year, and went to school in winter. In his sixteenth year he was apprenticed to a tanner, but "not liking the business he left it and went in 1819 to Georgetown, D. C., from which he returned home in declining health, and abandoned the carpenter business for that of cabinet-maker, which he followed until he was converted and called to the educational and ministerial field." He says:

> My first remarkable awakening was under a sermon preached at the school-house at Cantwell's Bridge (Odessa) on a week night, by Rev. M. Ogden, a minister of the Presbyterian Church. . . . The Methodists had not yet preached in the place. Whenever the Presbyterian minister came along he put up at our

house. . . . I used to take great pleasure in these occasional night meetings, and generally acted as a kind of sexton, preparing the house for service.

On the occasion of his conviction the text was, "Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee."

This to me was a home thrust. The preacher swept away all the refuge of lies in which sinners trust, and made me feel that I had not one solid and reasonable excuse for postponing the work of salvation another hour. That night, for the first time, I bowed in my chamber and tried to pray. . . . I never saw this man of God afterward, and little did he think, probably, what salutary havoc he had made in my soul that night. . . . Many gloomy hours I had after this . . . . Many nights my gloomy apprehensions were so great that I wished I might fall asleep, and, if I must be lost, that I might fall into hell while asleep, and so know the worst of it.

He read the Scriptures, and went to a camp-meeting; but there was no light. He then attended a "prayer-meeting conducted by Christian ladies and designed for the especial benefit of seekers of religion." He entered, knelt, and remained in prayer. The more he prayed the worse he felt. Just then the case of the woman with the issue of blood, mentioned in the gospel, flashed upon his mind, and he thought:

I too should be made whole if I could only touch the hem of Christ's garment. And it seemed to me I could touch it. So I rose upright on my knees, with hands and eyes lifted to heaven, and I did touch, for I felt the burden was gone, my cry of agony was hushed. I would rise up, I knew not why. I was on one knee and one foot in the act of rising, when all at once,

> "The opening heavens around me shone
> With beams of sacred bliss."

O, it was an ecstatic moment! I seemed flying through the midst of heaven, my body and my clothing as white as the driven snow, and angel bands circling around me, gently touching me, and singing as I had never heard before. I know not what I did during this interval. It was not of long duration. I came to myself, and the people seemed the most beautiful and the most happy I had ever seen. They were singing, "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," etc. [This was October 16, 1822.] I was five days past twenty years of age.

"The Life and Times of Bishop Scott" furnish material for profitable thought. He was no doubt a representative man of

this young Christian nation. His record is similar to that of millions of others who aided to found and frame what is now rapidly becoming the first Protestant nation on earth, a nation remarkable for its citizen ministry,—a ministry true to Christ, and as elastic as that of the apostolic period, ever adapting itself to the conditions of the people and the wants of a progressive age.

From the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, less than a score of years had elapsed when Levi Scott was born. Methodism then existed in its primitive simplicity and ardor. The trophies of its success were distinguished and multiplied. It was a time to try men. The country was new; the government of the nation and the Church seemed still to be experiments. The labors of the traveling preacher would test his zeal, his faith, and his fortitude. Circuits sometimes embraced from twenty to forty-five appointments. These were to be filled in four weeks. The classes were also to be met by the preacher. They were reached through all kinds of weather and over the worst of roads. The people were to be visited at their houses. There were all diversities of entertainment. Services were conducted in barns, school-houses, dwellings, in field and grove and church; and thousands came to Christ. "Multitudes, multitudes were in the valley of decision."

Methodism diffused its spirit through all classes of society. It was like leaven in the measure of meal. The lump was leavened. When Bishop Scott was born, Thomas Lyell, a Methodist preacher, was chaplain to Congress. At the first official dinner given by Mr. Jefferson, he felt a shock when the President departed from the uniform usage of his predecessor in dispensing with asking a blessing at the table.

In 1811 Nicholas Snethen was chosen chaplain, which led Bishop Asbury to say: "We begin to *partake of the honor that cometh from man.* Now is our time of danger. *O Lord, keep us pure, keep us correct, keep us holy!*" Richard Bassett, an earnest Methodist, was governor of the State of Delaware, and a member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States—was elected to Congress, and in later life was judge of the United States District Court for Delaware. His only child to grow up was a Methodist, and became the wife of the Hon. James A. Bayard, an eminent lawyer and

statesman, a member of Congress, and of the United States Senate. He was one of the commissioners in negotiating the "Treaty of Ghent," and declined other positions. He was regarded as "the glory of Delaware." His son, Hon. James A., was also member of the United States Senate. *His* son, Thomas F. Bayard, having succeeded the father in the Senate, is now the Secretary of State. Thus the wife of the first James A., the mother of the second James A., and the grandmother of the present Secretary of State, was in these early times of Methodism a devoted member of our Church.

Judge White and Dr. White in the same period opened their dwellings for Methodist preaching, and the residence of Judge White was the sanctuary of Francis Asbury in the period of his "dumb Sabbaths," when during the war of the Revolution he was denied his liberty, because suspected, as an Englishman, of lacking devotion to our independence.

If St. Paul speaks of the saints of "Cæsar's household," we may not be denied mention of those historic individuals and weighty facts that show the place God gave to Methodism in "the times" we are considering. Bishop Asbury, in one of his visits to Dover, Del., says: "Here I found some Methodists in the first circles of life, who in the midst of wealth were following the self-denying Saviour."

But among these *statesmen*, and men of the learned professions, there were many more that were not *learned*. Colleges were few. Riches were rare. The expense of classical culture was greater than at present. Theological seminaries, even in other Churches, were of debated claim; but it were a great mistake to conclude our people were not judges of preaching. They knew the Scriptures, they studied our standard authors, they were eager for the Gospel, and they knew when they received it. Men of all professions attended the "preaching" in the circuits young Scott traveled. The governor of the State, the representative in Congress, the Judges of the courts, were among the members of the Church. Women of intelligence and refinement heard the word from the Methodist minister, and many a matron was a better judge of the preaching of Christ than the collegian is of the rendering of the classics. The opinion of such would go far toward fixing the status of the preacher, or opening or shutting the door of Conference.

Perhaps the Philadelphia Conference was never more distinguished for the talent of its members than in 1826, when young Scott was admitted as a "preacher on trial."

Ezekiel Cooper retained his fame as an oracle for God; Lawrence McCombs had not lost the ability that placed him in the first cities of the nation; Lawrence Lawrenson, in his best mood, was in metaphysical skill and magnetic eloquence deemed next to peerless; Joseph Lybrand, as presiding elder, was regarded as hardly inferior to Henry B. Bascom; Pitman was in his prime; Henry White was melting the people by his pathos; and Solomon Higgins talked the Gospel with a naturalness, ease, and beauty that imparted charm to his utterances. Already Matthew Sorin had shown his intellectual grasp and grandeur; young Holdich was revealing the culture and skill that gave him early eminence; George G. Cookman, just from England, was bright, alert, and magnetic; Lewis Pease (transferred from New York) was filling "the Old Academy" by the power of the word; and borrowed from the same Conference was Samuel Merwin, who, by the attraction that nature, study, and grace gave him, was making old St. George's young in the gladness of his moral achievements.

Scott's call to the ministry was loud and convincing. He knew the demand on a minister in Methodism. He had some understanding of his need, as one who would be associated with such men. As he weighed the matter he was full of perplexity and misgivings. He says:

> I had learned in some sort reading, writing, and arithmetic; but that was all, and even that to a great extent I had lost. How then would I undertake so great, so responsible a work? But the burden of the Lord was upon me, and I felt, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Nor did there seem to be any bounds set to my call—Out, out, still out! When I yielded I was happy, when I resisted I was miserable.

Never student labored so hard to conjugate a verb or to solve the most difficult mathematical problem. Painful experience this to him who has it, but honored is the Church whose ministers pass through such conflict.

His conversion formed an intellectual epoch. Till then his mental faculties were incased by habits that precluded their development. He himself was unconscious of their power.

Till then his life was marked by changes of purposes and pursuits, but God, who can still the waves of the sea, fixed his roving heart and made the vacillating stable. His faculties at once shot forth, and the intellectual man appeared.

No one is prepared for the "life that now is" till he feels the powers of the "world to come." We have responsibilities that relate to others. We have obligations that transcend time, but of these we have no proper recognition till the Spirit that brought order out of chaos moves upon the understanding. This is not more necessary to discover and impress duty than it is to render us superior to the obstacles to its discharge.

If earth exhibits a supereminently irrepressible character, it is he whose eye kindles with divine radiance, whose aspirations are awakened by looking at "the unseen," and whose faith is kept in perpetual exercise on the plans and promises of God. The fires of ambition never flame so high, nor are they ever so steadily sustained, as when kindled at "the altar that sanctifies the gift"—and when eternal verities govern all the conduct. It is a weighty remark of Daniel Webster, that "Religion is an indispensable element in every great human character." It certainly was indispensable and also mightily effective in the character of Levi Scott. Till possessed by its power he lacked the moral perception and the necessary inspiration to the grandest deeds. Till then "the living temple" was in moral ruins. God in the soul is life and order. Spiritual truth is to the intellectual man what the purest vital air is to the animal nature. It gives vigor, freshness, and vivacity to the faculties, and all the powers of the understanding are increased by its touch.

Having heard God's voice saying, "Son, go work to-day in my vineyard," he felt to *parley* was sin. While he believed that in the divine economy call to duty implies capacity for its discharge, he saw that personal co-operation was also necessary. He would not offer to God or man that which cost him nothing. He therefore sought by private study, amid the responsibilities of an active ministry, the education that others now obtain before entering the work. He commenced, pursued, and mastered the Latin and Greek languages. He had aptitudes, application, and tenacity of purpose. His memory was ready and retentive, his perceptions were quick and accurate, and his

intellect was capacious and receptive. To one who observed his progress in knowledge it seemed to be no grinding process, no tedious, exhaustive labor. Attention was acquisition; contact was absorption; concentration was mental store: yet when time was requisite he could persevere in the face of great difficulties.

After two years in the work he was stationed at St. George's, the oldest charge in Philadelphia. He at once took position, and to the end retained it. His last station was "the Union," Philadelphia, which Bishop Hedding pronounced equal to any in the connection.

Though his advance was so direct and rapid, a deep sense of his incompetence often oppressed him, and he was sometimes on the eve of giving up the work. In his second year, while on Dover Circuit, he had determined to express his wish at the approaching quarterly meeting. Even Elijah, who called fire from heaven and confounded the false prophets, had his dark hour. It was the "power of darkness" with the young preacher. The day had come to make his purpose known. He was on his way to the Quarterly Conference. The presiding elder overtook him, and invited him to ride with him in his carriage. He readily accepted the invitation, thinking it would give him the best opportunity to ask release, when lo! the elder began to tell the younger his conviction that he, the presiding elder, was not fit for the office and must give it up, that his *talents* were not equal to the place. Scott, just ready to express his own woes, began to reason with his superior and show him it was only a temptation. This done he was unable to state his own case, and so the snare was broken. The young physician, in prescribing for his elder, had reached the seat of his own malady. The presiding elder was the noble Lawrenson; and though in his best moods one of the grandest preachers, in his depressions he was unfit for any service, and so child-hearted was he that he would reveal his sorrows to the humblest persons.

It was an opportune meeting! Who shall say God's providence did not as really send Scott to Lawrenson, at that time, as the angel directed the course of Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch, when the Spirit bade him *join the chariot?* If the interview of the evangelist caused the Ethiopian to "go on his

way rejoicing," not less did the Almighty relieve two burdened ministers by this strange meeting, the younger of whom rose to such positions and gave fifty-six years to so glorious a ministry.

Ministers are still liable to such temptation from a sense of incompetency. But there is a strong contrast between the early "times" of Levi Scott and the present day. For him who desires them, there is the Academy, the College, the Theological Seminary, not to speak of foreign travel. All modes of preparation for the pulpit are at his command. He may extemporize, may memorize, may write and read his sermons. The study is open, the library is ready. All that is asked is, that he "show himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." He is commended, rather than condemned, for using all means before entering upon his calling. If when Levi Scott began there were in the itinerancy five college graduates, memory fails to reproduce them.

What shall we say of pulpit preparation? Had they any? Indeed they had! There was the Bible. Did it ever seem so full? There were Wesley's Notes. Were they ever so terse and helpful? Coke's Commentary existed. But what preacher had money enough to buy either this or Adam Clarke's? Besides, they were too big for the "saddle-bags." They did carry the English dictionary, and it is said Bishop Hedding read it through, and pronounced it not only a useful but an interesting book.

But they had their preparation. They learned to think upon their feet, and they believed the word "nearest the tongue was nearest the heart." In the pulpit, invention, imagination, memory, judgment, all waited on the preacher, and he "just spoke right on." New ideas and proper language were suggested by the action of speaking. They learned to preach by preaching. When alone, when on horseback, when by the road-side, they reasoned and concluded. Could primeval forests speak, they would tell of many a sermon that broke their silence, and of many a tear that fell from the preacher's eye, when none but God heard and saw.

Of pulpit preparation they had no lack! Much of it was on their knees, asking light upon the sacred page; on their knees, pleading for the best treatment of the theme; on their knees,

importuning God for ability to take "the heart out of the text and put it into the heart of the hearer;" on their knees, saying, "Give me souls, or I die." God heard. The "violent took it by force." Coming from the closet to the congregation they did not limp like Jacob, but it was felt they had been with more than an angel. Never did Levi Scott show greater nearness to the Almighty than after such habit of preparation. The writer heard him in the pulpit of Smyrna, Del., on the text, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" Fifty-three years have not effaced the memory of that triumphant night. They "watch for souls." Chrysostom said, "he never could read those words without trembling, though he often preached several times a day."

Levi Scott as a preacher of the times.—My knowledge of him began in 1832. After serving two years in St. George's Charge he was stationed at Westchester and Marshallton, from which at the end of two years he was returned supernumerary. Six years after he had entered the work he was broken down. In 1832 James Nichols was sent to Smyrna Circuit as colleague of R. M. Greenbank. The Church in any denomination has rarely seen such a young man as Nichols. Educated under Francis Watters, D.D., in Washington College, Kent County, Md., he had commenced the study of law, when he was powerfully converted. At once he burned with zeal to enter the itinerancy. He was received and regarded as a pulpit prodigy. With grandeur of thought, sublimity of style, and a holy passion, he rose to an eloquence that took all classes captive. His presiding elder, Lawrence McCombs, said: "He begins where we leave off." But he was an illustration of the saying that "Great minds to madness nearly are allied." He became insane. Levi Scott had so far recovered health as to resume labor. He was sent to supply the place of Nichols, so returning to the people that six years before had recommended him to Conference. He was cordially received. His "pound had gained ten pounds." His ministry was very unlike that of Nichols. He was grave, weighty, and intense. His sermons were carefully prepared, and were delivered with fervor and effect. He was loved and honored. At the approaching Conference he was put in charge of Kent Circuit. There his depth of piety, knowledge of Methodist economy,

skill in administration, and ability in the pulpit suggested him as the proper person for the place of presiding elder of Delaware District. His biographer says:

> In the thirty-second year of his age he reached a trust and distinction that in those days was granted but few young men. The term "elder" then applied alike to the age and the office. Our fathers reverenced the teaching of the fifth commandment, the principles of which underlie all sound government in State and Church, and were so intended by the Divine Law-giver. Happy is that land that honors its seniors, and the people who honor the fathers.

Bishop Asbury said of John Emory, "He has an old head on young shoulders," and this entitles any man to place. Never did Levi Scott fill any position with greater ability and commendation.

His theology could be trusted. He had a creed, and could say, "I believe." He believed *objective and subjective truth.* He had a message from God, and he knew its import. With him inward grace was personal salvation, but it was through faith in essential doctrine. This he made known to others. Like St. Paul, he gloried not only in the cross, but in telling how thereby "the world was crucified unto him, and he to the world." As in the case of that greatest of apostles, he narrated his experience with frequency and force. So like him he had the Scriptures reduced to a "system of divinity." He was not satisfied with the esthetic, the ethical, or the speculative. He was a careful reader, a calm thinker, a good logician, and no mean casuist. He could trace the lines of thought that run close together, and detect and exhibit the point of divergence and danger. The glare of false lights did not lure him into spiritual morasses, where he would be compelled to say, "I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing." If there are ministers whom we may hear from month to month, from year to year, without knowing what they believe—what is even meant by the "new birth," or whether it is secured by parental care and domestic discipline—whether it is by some germinal power within us—he was not of that number. With him, spiritual regeneration is being "born from above," or it is nothing. He had an experience on that point, and he preached "the witness of the Spirit" to this fact.

It was said of Fisher Ames that no one could hear him speak for five minutes, no matter what the occasion, without learning his politics. Under any sermon of Bishop Scott the sinner could see salvation. It is a dark day when preaching has no body of doctrinal truth in it, when it induces doubt rather than inspires faith. He would say, "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat." What minister of Christ may not profit by the address of Robert Hall to Eustace Carey, when going a missionary to India?

> It might become a Socrates who was left to the light of nature to express himself with diffidence, and to affirm he had spared no pains in acting up to the character of a philosopher.... But whether he had philosophized aright . . . he knew not, but left it to be ascertained in the world on which he was entering. In him such indications of modest distrust were graceful and affecting, but would little become the disciple of revelation or Christian minister, who is entitled to say with St. John, "We know... that the whole world lieth in wickedness, and ... that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ." Display the sufferings of Christ like one who was an eye-witness of those sufferings, and hold up the blood, the precious blood of the atonement, as issuing warm from the cross. . . . In such a ministry fear not to give loose to all the ardor of your soul, to call into action every motion and every faculty which can exalt or adorn it.

So spake the metaphysical but most admired and eloquent preacher of England.

The manner, spirit, and style of Bishop Scott's preaching deserves notice. He put his intellect and heart into his services, and his sermons were duplicates of the man. We saw his *theological contour*. There were keen analysis and sound exposition. There were the didactic and the hortatory. His articulation was distinct and deliberate, his words had precision and vigor, his sentences were short and simple, and there was a lucidity through which thought appeared without any straining of the mental vision; the expression was more than the words. He had some fancy, little imagination, and no verbal affluence, but there was a divine afflatus, and his countenance showed his soul. When he bent his bow the aim was well taken, and the arrow

flamed as it flew; the light entered the intellect, and the barb pierced the heart.

His voice had compass and penetration, and under the pressure of pulpit passion in his earlier ministry it sometimes became shrill and severe. Though not pre-eminently a word-painter, he could describe a sin and delineate a character so as to compel application. In 1835, when presiding elder on the Delaware District, he preached at one of his camp-meetings from the text, "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish: for I work a work in your day, a work which ye shall in no wise believe though a man declare it unto you." His exhibition of the "despiser," his description of the work, and his declaration of the doom of the perishing were so vivid and awful as to make the stout-hearted tremble.

On a like occasion, about the same time, he preached from the text, "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them." Such was the sense of God's greatness awakened—such was the dazzling splendor of the "great white throne"—such the impression of the vastness and composition of the assembly—such the tremendous issues of the judgment—that even the most godly prayed that they might "find mercy in that day." At one of his quarterly meetings he selected as his text, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." Of all the sermons of my life I recall none of equal searching power. He was verily a spiritual anatomist, and he dissected the soul. At the close the mind of the candid and attentive hearer was exhausted by the rigor of the examination induced, while tears and supplications certified the humiliation it produced.

In the conduct of the service he was an example of solemnity and skill. As a reader of the lessons and hymns he had rare ability in giving the sense. His rendering was an exposition. Fifty-three years ago the writer heard him read the hymn,

> "Thou Judge of quick and dead,
> Before whose bar severe,
> With holy joy or guilty dread,
> We all shall soon appear."

The man of that day is before me still. The Rev. J. S. Inskip said of him: "We know and appreciate him most as a preacher. He was to our mind the most incisive preacher we ever heard." He heard him upon the text, "They all with one consent began to make excuse." It was the means of leading him to Christ, and he adds, "Such preaching is seldom heard in these days." Rev. T. T. Tasker, than whom no man might better judge, as he was his own pastor, said: "When I saw him I rejoiced in the light of his countenance, and if it was to hear him preach I could say, as my father said of Rev. Joseph Benson, the commentator, "I was sure of a blessing if the pride of my heart did not interfere." . . . John Reines, a local preacher, who had frequently heard Dr. Adam Clarke, said, "Brother Scott has a cast of mind much like the doctor," and, "His preaching was of the same instructive and deep-going output of a wise head and a pure heart." The preachers' meeting of Philadelphia said: "In all the principal elements of effective preaching Bishop Scott was a master."

It is just to remark that with all his physical disability and want of early education he attained his zenith in pulpit power before he reached the meridian of life; and they who heard him only in his latter years could form no adequate judgment of his former days. His greatest sermons, and those that produced the profoundest impression, were delivered when he was presiding elder of the Delaware District, and when he was thirty-two years of age.

As a Bishop, he leaves a grateful memory. At the period of his election to the episcopate, there was among us a phrase of great significance. It was, "bishop timber!" It supposed there might be "timber" not of the sort for a bishop, that though large and lofty it was not of the fiber and condition for the place. "Bishop timber" was solid and strong; it could withstand the storm and not be wrenched or weakened —like live oak, that worms cannot easily enter. Deep piety, familiarity with and sympathy in the work, an understanding of our government and skill in its administration, a knowledge of men and tact in the peculiar service of the office, with economic elasticity and episcopal firmness, with an ear to hear, and a heart to feel, and a hand for nothing but to help—such were the qualities looked for in "bishop timber."

Though we have never taught "community of goods," we have of talent. All the talent of the itinerancy belongs to the Church, and the Church and not the individual is responsible for the place to be filled.

To Levi Scott his honors came unsought. In this case the "timber" did not seek the place, but the place the timber. In 1840, by the judgment of that rare judge of men, Dr. Durbin, then president of Dickinson College, Levi Scott was desired as principal of the Grammar School. At this time he received the degree of A.M. from the Wesleyan University. A few years afterward, the Delaware College, of Newark, Del., conferred on him the degree of D.D. From 1836 to 1852, when he was made Bishop, he was delegate to the General Conference. In the General Conference of 1844 he stood beside Dr. Durbin in voting with the North, though from the *border*.

At the age of forty-six he was made Book Agent, and at fifty he was elected Bishop. No promotion seemed to elate him. Perhaps this was the reason why he did not awaken jealousy. He was accustomed to say, "The happiest days of my ministry were when I was on a circuit." Though he attended closely to the business of Conference, he could hardly be said to enter into the debates. When it was suggested to make him Bishop, it was understood that the senior Agent, George Lane, declined serving any longer in the office. Dr. Scott was asked if he believed the Book Room could without harm to its interests part with both its Agents at the same time. He answered he thought it would suffer. He was nevertheless elected Bishop, by the highest vote cast. He accepted the result as the voice of the Church, and showed his sense of the responsibilities that the honor imposed.

The quaint Church historian, Thomas Fuller, says of "the good Bishop:" "He is an overseer of the flock of shepherds, as a minister is of a flock of God's sheep. Divine providence . . . has advanced him to the place, whereof he was in no whit ambitious; only he counts it good manners to sit there, where God hath placed him, though it be higher than he conceived himself to deserve, and hopes that he who hath called him to the office hath or will in a measure fit him for it."

Though Bishop Scott had an exalted idea of the functions of his office he deprecated the thought of assuming for our epis-

copacy that which he believed would add no honor. Dr. Mitchell says:

He once expressed to me a regret and painful concern that certain parties in our Church were attempting to revive an exploded story to the effect that a certain wandering Greek Bishop, named Erasmus of Crete, had ordained John Wesley a Bishop. The whole story he regarded as without foundation in fact—being destitute of needed accessories and witnesses to the act, and without record in the Life and Works of Wesley, and entirely unworthy of the memory of such a lover of truth and fair dealing as the founder of Methodism was, and implying that Mr. Wesley, for sinister reasons, concealed it from his friends and people. . . . He clung to the theory of a strong executive board of supervision for the Church, the whole thought of which he expressed in one word. Through his wonderful power of condensation at a session of the Indiana Conference, held in New Albany in the fall of 1871, on rising to read the appointments he said [among a few other things], "Brother presbyters, I arise as a presbyter Bishop, to give you your work for a year."

That was the whole of it—the theory of executive duty and corresponding responsibility.

That men who honor the character, assert the candor, and maintain the logical and moral consistency of John Wesley, if familiar with the facts of our history, can indulge the belief that he desired or received consecration to a third order by Erasmus, is one of the strange things to be associated with intelligence. It is a pity to quote as of any weight the narrative of that ecclesiastical Baron Munchausen, Dr. Samuel Peters. The author of the "True Blue Laws" is hardly authority for putting John Wesley in *creed*, against John Wesley in *conduct!* Men like Sir Richard Hill might speak of Mr. Wesley as that "old fox." We leave it to his enemies to make him a man of duplicity.

By the kindness of the Rev. James Morrow, D.D., of the Philadelphia Conference, I am allowed the use of a letter from the late Dr. Thomas Jackson of the Wesleyan body in England. Perhaps no man better knew our literature. The letter is a reply to Dr. Morrow's inquiry as to the grounds of belief that Wesley was consecrated to a third order by Erasmus. It is dated March 10, 1868. It reads:

The insinuation which you mention respecting Mr. Wesley is a vile slander, which I believe was first advanced by Sir Richard

Hill, and was publicly contradicted at the time by Mr. Wesley himself, as you will find by referring to his Works, vol. x, p. 450, 12mo edition. [American edition, 8vo, Book Room, vol. vi, p. 196.] Many misrepresentations of the same kind occur in the "Life of Lady Huntington," to the disadvantage of Mr. Wesley, whose Arminianism the Calvinists, I believe, will never forgive in this world, whatever they may do in the next.

It was the remark of the venerable Henry White, of the Philadelphia Conference, one who knew Levi Scott from the beginning, and knew him in all the relations he bore to the Church, "Brother Scott is equal to any place he is called to fill."

When elected principal of the Grammar School, though a self-made man, he commanded the confidence and respect of students. When in the agency of the Book Room, Dr. Kidder, who was then our Sunday-school editor, says: "The duties of his office were faithfully and discreetly performed, with a breadth of view that took in the full responsibility of providing a wholesome religious literature for a great and growing Church and her children."

As a Bishop, he pondered his work, and while in the chair of the Conference he was calm and careful and wise in his rulings. He felt his great duty for God was the assigning of ministers to their fields of labor. His first concern was the Church of Christ, but he never forgot the consideration of each preacher, in his talents, adaptations, and needs. This filled both head and heart. It was sometimes a weight that made him tremble.

As a Bishop, he was an illustration of the fact that a meek man can be firm. In no one have we seen more meekness. Who has transcended him in decision? He has sent a preacher to a station in the face of a protest. He has removed a preacher from the strongest charge, in order to accomplish what he deemed a necessary service.

The New York East Conference, by an overwhelming vote, desired him to appoint a preacher who had been two years in his station to an agency for an institution of learning to which some of the preachers gave as much as $500—in the number one now in the episcopacy. But the Bishop twice sent to the Conference and asked them to reconsider their vote; and though it twice refused, and the preacher did not object to the appointment, the Bishop sent him back to the

charge and refused him to the agency. All knew, however, that he had no motive but the good of the Church, and this was his judgment, for which he, as an officer, was responsible to God. At the same Conference, in another matter, he said, "I was mistaken," adding, "We as Bishops do not claim infallibility." When on one occasion a presiding elder was opposed to sending a preacher to a certain appointment, the Bishop said, "Brother, you need not be presiding elder of that district, but Brother —— will go to that appointment," and the brother went.

His conduct in the Baltimore Conference of 1861 shows not less his decision than his intelligence in regard to duty. The new chapter against slavery encountered a storm of opposition, and a resolution was offered, by one of great influence, in condemnation of the General Conference of 1860. The Secretary of the Conference was allowed to occupy the chair. The vote was taken, and on the Bishop's resuming the chair he said, "The whole action past is, in my judgment, in violation of the Order and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and therefore is null and void, and as a Conference action I do not recognize it." This he had placed on the journal of the Conference over his name. In his official duties he respected and "honored all men," but was the judge of his own decisions.

Of Bishop Scott in his administration we may say what the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," says of President James Monroe, whom John Quincy Adams places in the first line of American statesmen, and as contributing during fifty years of his connection with the public affairs a full share in the aggrandizement and advancement of his country—"His parts were not shining, but solid. He lacked genius but he possessed judgment;" and it was a remark of Dean Swift, "that genius is not necessary to the conducting of the offices of state; that judgment, diligence, knowledge, good intentions, and will were sufficient." Mr. Benton assumed for his statesman "a discretion which seldom committed a mistake, an integrity that always looked to the public good, a firmness of will which carried him resolutely upon his object, a diligence that mastered every subject, and a perseverance that yielded to no obstacle or reverse."

In person Bishop Scott was of medium height, and neither nature nor office gave roundness to his form. His features were large, and expressed superior intellect. His forehead was high and broad, his brow was arched and heavy, his eyes were grey and deep-set. From him a scowl or a frown would be portentous. But his countenance was benignant, and his soul took its seat in the windows of the body, and looked out of the eyes with kindness and benedictions. In bearing and gesture he showed the man of culture and character. He was free from pretense and austerity, but he had real dignity. William Jay says: "It is remarked of persons raised at the court that their manners do not appear; they are a part of the individual, they are so natural and easy, while refined and appropriate." Such were the manners of Bishop Scott. All was as a transparency, through which we saw the man. There was in him enough of the genial and assimilative to make him a delightful companion. The stream of his friendship was never congealed by the icy coldness of the atmosphere about him. In social life he sometimes exhibited positive humor, and he possessed a keen sense of the ludicrous, and conscience did not always forbid its indulgence. He thought our risibles were wisely given, and he held that they, like our judgment, are for proper use. But he could be cheerful without gayety, and relax without compromising ministerial or official character. Gravity predominated in his intercourse. In the family, as husband, father, head of the house, he was tender, respectful, free, sometimes jocund. He was a stranger to parsimony.

As a citizen, he responded to political claims, and was oblivious of no obligation he owed to society. As a neighbor, he was observant of the amenities of life, and he "had a good report of them" that were "without."

As a Christian.—The man of God is above the man of office, though piety, as we have seen, is not the only qualification for the episcopate. No eminence of talent can compensate its lack. It is essential to the confidence that should be reposed in one of such functions. Nothing like this induces the homage that overlooks mistakes and constrains acquiescence in appointments that try men's faith. The piety of Bishop Scott was deep, ardent, and impressive. It is one of the greatest felicities of a Christian life to have a conscious con-

version. The tide of its benefit often sweeps onward to the very shore of the eternal world—keeping the mind free from disturbing and enervating doubt. Such was the happiness of Bishop Scott. The spiritual impulse that his regeneration imparted was never spent till his work was done. He had a good Presbyterian conviction, he had a grand Methodist conversion —a most happy combination. His conviction was an agony, his conversion was a transport. His experience, that enabled him to testify with boldness, was an abiding element of power. With him it was not alternate light and darkness, it was not a day of twelve hours and a night of equal length. He certainly did not live at the poles, where the day is six months and the night the same. Another sun filled his horizon, and shone from the zenith to the nadir. His life had no breaks in it. There were no chasms in conduct to be closed only by an effort resembling that which preceded change of heart. There were no breaches in conscience that required repair before he could enter upon or properly prosecute a work. His faculties were in full force, and ready for direction. If he wrote, it was with mental poise. If he spoke, it was with a serene spirit. If he labored, it was with the felt presence of God. Mr. Wesley believed some Christians are entirely sanctified when they are regenerated. It would not be difficult to believe this of Bishop Scott. The writer of this article knew him as his preacher on the circuit, as his presiding elder on the district, and as his Bishop presiding in Conference and fixing his appointments, and he is not aware that he ever heard him utter a word—ever saw him indulge a spirit or perform an act—that would induce a doubt of his holiness.

May we not declare of him, as Edward Irving said of Bernard Gilpin: "He is a model minister of the Gospel, who furnishes an exemplification of the largeness and majesty and ethereal purity of that profession that Christ founded in the world, and to which the world is more indebted than to kings and statesmen, to philosophers and men of science?"

To Bishop Scott a benign Providence had granted more years than any of the Bishops had attained; few of them had been so long in the episcopate. His age inspired reverence, but his character and work imparted more. Who will not listen to "Paul the aged?" He knows with Peter that he

"must shortly put off this body." The friends that hail the venerable pilgrim, or bid him adieu, think "this may be the last time." His sanctified ambition can hope for little more in this world. The staff is in his hand, and he is listening for the final summons. To him the Church was never dearer, though he is soon to leave it. To him impending battles present as positive an interest as when the sword first flashed in his vigorous grasp, and he heard the commander say, "Go forward!"

But his life was not merely one of responsibility and labor; it was one of moral discipline. Yet as in his intellectual pursuits he rose above his embarrassments, in his spiritual efforts he was superior to all difficulties. On his first circuit he had something like a sunstroke. His personal afflictions were a burden all through his ministry. For more than fifty years his wife was an invalid. How deeply he felt her death, shortly before his own, his biography testifies.

Again and again bereavement came to his household and "the iron entered his soul." Holy Samuel Rutherford says, "The lintel stone and pillars of the New Jerusalem suffer more knocks of God's hammer and tools than the common side-wall stones." He was kept in perfect peace, as his mind was stayed on God.

When he returned from the General Conference of 1880 to the "Itinerant's Lodge"—when, after serving in the episcopate twenty-eight years, he realized his release from the work of his intellect and heart, and the best of his life—when he knew he should go forth no more to meet the calls of his office—a feeling of *pensiveness* was the necessity of his nature and devotion, but he said, "I am contented to await further developments of my Father's will concerning me. I have my orders.

> "'Watchman, let thy wanderings cease,
> Hie thee to thy quiet home.'"

He still had much for which to live: a devoted daughter, wife of Hon. G. L. Townsend, constantly ministering to him, and his son, Rev. A. T. Scott, of the Wilmington Conference, with numerous and interesting grandchildren. But he had "served his generation by the will of God," and he was ready to fall asleep.

When memory was failing him, he said, with calm resignation, "I am getting ready for the home and life where they keep no dates." During this period the last hymn of Charles Wesley was frequently on his lips:

> "In age and feebleness extreme,
> Who shall a helpless worm redeem?"

When the death struggle began he asked for the doctor; and when his daughter said, "The doctor cannot help you, father; none but Jesus can help you," he replied, "Yes, none but Jesus, *none but Jesus.*" Several times he said, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," the "amen" dying on his lips. In the final struggle he said again and again, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Thus at 9:35 o'clock A. M., Thursday, July 13, 1882, expired this honored servant of Christ, this senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, closing his eyes on earth, within a few feet of the spot where they first saw the light of life, to open them on the glories of the New Jerusalem. We cannot better express his character and departure than in the words of the Rev. Hugh Stowel on the death of his venerable father:

> The growth of his piety resembled the growth of the oak-tree. It was as solid as it was gradual, and as far as his branches spread upward in zeal and benevolence, so far his root shot downward in humility and faith. Unlike the oak-tree, however, in his last years, he advanced with sevenfold rapidity. . . . His day had no evening—no long, cold, shadowy twilight. His sun never descended. It rose full-orbed into the eternal sky. . . . His heart was all tenderness, his graces were all beauty, as he passed away, and there was not an instant between his shining here and his shining there, where the "righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

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Art. II.—THE PARSIS OF INDIA.

My first view of the Parsis was on the steamer *Sutlej*. A number of them took passage at Aden for Bombay. A portion of the forward deck was assigned to them, where they spread out their bedding every night, and gathered it up in the morning. They were of fine features, intelligent, affable, and communicative. They wore excellent clothing. I observed that their more prominent buttons were of solid gold. I had several conversations with them, when our subject was generally their religious opinions. The more I saw of them the more favorably I was impressed by them. This contact with only a few members of this strange community made me fully prepared for a larger view of the great Parsi population of Bombay; and every day I spent in the city the stronger became my admiration for this people, save only their false religion.

Throughout India there are nearly two hundred thousand Parsis, and of these one half live in and about the Presidency of Bombay alone. They form a class by themselves, separated socially from both the Christian and Hindu populations, and as thoroughly independent of all other classes as if they were the sole people inhabiting Western India. Why are these Persians in India? The question will strike any studious stranger frequently, as he sees the important place which this community occupies in the commerce and general improvements of the country; and yet the proper answer lies far back in the past of both India and Persia. They are the descendants of the Persians who were driven out of their own country, in the eighth century, by the Mohammedan conquerors of that kingdom. Khalif Omar was the first Mohammedan chief to invade Persia. He was victorious, and he dealt destruction on every hand. Persecutions of the most violent kind were organized against the conquered people, and they fled before their cruel masters. They reached the mountain region of Khorassan, and hoped at least there to be at peace. But the sword of the merciless Mohammedan was long enough, and sharp withal, to reach them even there, and they fled again. Some of the fugitives took shelter on the little island of Ormuz, at the entrance

of the Persian Gulf.* But there was no peace in this retired place. They succeeded in getting a few boats, and, embarking on them, set sail for the Indian coast. They could have remained in Persia had they been willing to adopt the Mohammedan faith. But the religion of Zoroaster had too strong a hold on them. They would not sacrifice any one of its tenets. They preferred exile to another faith. In India they were cautiously received by the Hindu prince, Jadi Rana.

This was in the year 716. The prince was afterward favorably impressed by their appearance, and gave them full liberty to reside, and practice their religion, in his province of Sanjan. They enjoyed three centuries of quiet, during which time they were re-enforced by other migrations of their countrymen. They increased throughout the Gujurat region as the centuries passed by. When the Mohammedans from Persia, in their march of conquest, finally reached India, and set up the great Mogul Empire in the valleys of the Ganges and the Indus, the Parsis were again in great danger. They feared the cruelty of the same hand which had conquered them at home, and made them exiles forever from their native country. They allied themselves with the Hindu chiefs, and yet both Hindu and Parsi were conquered, and, as a political and military force, went down beneath the all-powerful Mogul chiefs. But they scattered, led quiet lives, engaged in commerce, and were permitted to preserve their faith. So soon as the English came to Western India the Parsis hailed them as the hope of the country. From that day to this they have admired the English rule in India, and have been its warmest supporters in all the dangers which have threatened the hold of Britain on her Indian possessions.

That the Parsis have been an important factor in the development of the country during the last two centuries, is owing entirely to the coming of Europeans. Their relation to this new element was at once prompt, close, and valuable. No sooner did people from Portugal, France, and England arrive than they saw the wealth of the Parsis, their capacity for business, and their perfect reliability in all commercial matters. The wealthy region of Surat early invited trading companies, and as this was the original home of the Parsi immigrants, these com-

*Karaka, "History of the Parsi," vol. i, p. 24.

panies from Europe entered into relations with them, and thus each party derived great advantages from the other. This was the beginning of the amazing commercial prosperity of the Parsis. While employed by the companies from Europe they laid the foundations for their own strong future in India. All the factories represented by foreign nations in Surat employed Parsis as their chief brokers, and could not have carried on their great operations without them. They were able to accommodate differences between the companies and the native rulers which would otherwise have proved fatally disastrous. In 1660, for example, Rastam Manak, the chief broker of the English factory in Surat, by a personal audience with the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb, at his palace in Delhi, not only caused the removal of obstacles which the Hindu nobles were now placing in the way of the English, but secured a gift of land for building a factory and the freedom from duty of all imported goods.

The large settlement of Parsis in Bombay occurred just before the king of Portugal gave the island to the English as a marriage dowry to Catharine, Princess of Braganza, in 1688, when she married Charles II. of England. From this time they enjoyed a new and broader life. They now had their first open field in India, on a perfect equality with the people of all other nations. While loyal to the country, as an English possession, their future depended less upon any political relations than upon their capacity in commerce. Here has been the department to which they have steadily adhered for two centuries, and to-day they stand at the head of the business of Bombay, and have the profound respect of every class.

One can easily recognize the Parsi wherever he meets him. He uses a dress different from his ancestors in Persia. It is a half-way costume between the Hindu and the European. He wears a loose garment of cotton, flannel, or silk, extending from his neck to a few inches below his knees. Many are now wearing light trousers—a late innovation. The round dark skull-hat, rising like a small cylinder, but without brim, is the head-covering of the men. The ladies dress very becomingly, and are distinguished for their jewels and rich robes. They differ entirely from the Mohammedan and Hindu women in the high and honorable estimate which the Parsi men

place upon them. They, with their children, often accompany their husbands in afternoon drives out on the Malabar Hill, and in other directions. Their equipages are richly appointed. There is an air of happiness and comfort, as one sees the Parsis in public, which those who know them well say prevails in their homes as well. I saw many of the ladies driving out on afternoons, along the Queen's Road, with as much style as though their spirited horses were whirling them around the broad road in Hyde Park. The ladies wear a loose robe, but with uncovered head, and with becoming shoes. With them, not less than with the men, the tendency is constantly toward the adoption of European dress. They are getting to take their meals sitting in chairs, instead of, as formerly, squat upon the floor. The household usages are gradually conforming to the English methods. They are very fond of many lights at home, and their rooms are hung with so many lamps, that, at night, one can always distinguish the Parsi house.

The most notable features of the Parsi population of Bombay are, their rise to great wealth, their present control of the internal commerce of the country, and their vast trade with China and Japan. It has frequently been the case that when a Parsi has risen to eminence and wealth his son has continued his business with equal success, and entered upon all the official dignities of the father. Many prominent families, such as the Patels, the Benajis, the Modis, the Kamas, and the three brothers of the "Readymoney" family, have become synonyms for commercial success and probity. Many of them trace their origin far back to their first days in India, when their fathers were fugitives from Mohammedan oppressors; and some of them make a leap still farther back, into Persia, their original home. In originating an important trade with the farther Asiatic ports, in ship-building, in railroad contracts, in the new and now immense cotton trade, and in supplying the army with provisions, they have not only given satisfaction to all classes, but have placed themselves in the first rank of the merchant princes of India.

Their benevolence has been commensurate with their growth in wealth. There is nothing which a Parsi more enjoys than in giving freely to a needy cause. His heart is in his hand.

He is touched by an appeal to his sympathy, and rich and poor alike give freely, according to their ability. Some of the largest and most beautiful charities and educational institutions of Bombay have been established by them as direct gifts to the country. The Benevolent Institution, founded by Sir Jamshidhi Jijibhai, consists of a group of male and female schools. This gentleman was the first Parsi baronet created by England, in recognition of his many benevolences and his sterling character. The Alexandra College, for Parsi ladies, was established by Manikji Khurshidji. Many of the studies pursued in European schools are in the curriculum. When one sees such an institution as this, with all the appliances of an English educational establishment, it cannot be surprising that the higher Parsi classes should be rapidly adopting European ideas and usages.

Vikaj Merji raised, at great expense, a dam across the Banganga River, with other similiar works, to shut out the salt-water tides, and thus make a large district in the Bombay Presidency productive, because of the irrigation which was now first made possible. Mr. Dinsha, said to be the wealthiest Parsi in Bombay, has established many charities among his own people, and also in the general interests of the country. In 1883 he donated a hospital for the treatment and cure of horses, placing it under the charge of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He has also established charitable dispensaries in Bombay and several places in Gujurat; caused wells and tanks to be dug in Puna, Ahmednuggur, and other places; founded charitable schools, libraries, book-clubs; provided means for poor students to receive a liberal education; and built a hospital for lepers in Ratnigiri. Sir Kavasji Jehangir Readymoney made it his special duty to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Hospitals, lunatic asylums, dispensaries, the great building of the Elphinstone College, University Hall, and the Puna Engineering College are only a few monuments to his princely liberality. Mr. Kharshedji repaired and extended the Chaupati asylum for the aged and blind; established free dispensaries in Bombay and other places; erected the Industrial School at Surat; and built one of the handsomest ornaments to Bombay—the Flora Fountain.

One of the most beautiful of the charities of Bombay is its sanitarium for the poorer Parsis, founded in the suburbs of Colaba by Mervanji Panday. I took special pains to visit this remarkable institution. The Bombay water-front is a crescent, the northern horn being the Malabar Hill, while Colaba is the southern. At this southern horn, right on the shore, where the spray dashes wildly up on your face, and where the sea breeze is constant the year round, this noble charity is to be found. If a poor man is sick, and produces a medical certificate, he and his family are brought here, where, with a perfect atmosphere and proper care, he can remain until he is well. Every thing is plain. It is a charity which is free from ostentation and luxury. About one thousand persons become patients here every year. Each family furnishes its own provisions, and has all the conveniences for cooking. The gift lies in gratuitous rent, and in the invigorating sea breeze.

One of the most remarkable features of the charity of the Parsis is, that as a rule it takes place during life. If done by bequest it is the exception. The Parsi wants to see the growth of his work. He measures his benefactions by the same rule he would his business. He looks for development, and when an emergency arises he wants to be on hand to meet it, and wishes to see perfect security before the vultures tear his spent body to pieces. I have never seen such extensive charities grouped within so narrow a compass as among these Parsis of Bombay. There seems to be no limit to their humane plans. The example has been set, and there is no probability that there will be decline in this magnificent spirit.

One must admit that the inscriptions on the benevolent institutions, such as buildings and fountains, are very lavish in praise of the donors. Many words are employed, far more than a more quiet western taste would admit. Moreover, I have been told that much of this benefaction comes from a love of admiration, and possibly from an eye to business. But I am not here speaking of motives. One must approve the results, whatever be the impulses. Even supposing the causes somewhat selfish—which I am by no means ready to grant, in many instances—is it not better to found a school, or asylum for the poor, or some other humane institution, from an imperfect motive, than not to do the good work at all?

The Parsis, perhaps largely as an outgrowth of their attention to education, have exhibited a great fondness for literature. Some of this community have distinguished themselves as authors, and their works have received foreign recognition. The Rahmunai Mazdayasnan Sabha, or Religious Reform Association, consists of a body of men who aim to elevate the social life of this community, and to restore some of the forgotten features of the system of Zoroaster, by the publication of works throwing light on the early history and doctrines of the Parsis. Their first issue was Sorabji Shapurji's work on the Origin and History of the Zend-Avesta, which has been followed by many others, all thoroughly scholarly works, and almost our sole source of information on many accessories of the Parsi history and doctrines. Dastur Peshotanji has published a Pehlavi grammar and other important works. In this ancient language lie buried some of the greatest Persian literary treasures, and it is no wonder that Parsi scholars are endeavoring to bring them out of their long obscurity. The Pehlavi was the ruling Persian tongue during the Sassanian dynasty. Dastur Jamaspji has issued four volumes of his Pehlavi Dictionary. Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji has given to the public the texts of an old Zend Pehlavi Glossary, an old Pehlavi Pazand Glossary, and the Arda-Virofi-Nama. To Ervad Kavasji Kanga we owe Gujurati translations of the Vendidad, the Khordeh-Avesta, and even an English translation of Anquetil du Perron's account of his visit to India. The most learned Life of Zoroaster in literature has been written by Kharshedji Rastamji Kame. He has founded a periodical, the Zarthoski Abhyas (Zoroastrian Studies), which aims to introduce into India the fruits of German scholarship in the line of Oriental subjects. The "Bombay Times," now the "Times of India," and the best paper in the western part of the country, if not of all India, owes its existence largely to the enterprise of Framji Kavasji. Karaka's History of the Parsis, a work which has been of great service to me in the examination of this strange people, is by far the best account we have on the Indian descendants of the ancient Persians. Some of the Parsi publications appeared in Bombay, but it is not uncommon for them to see the light first in London. Haug, in giving an account of the Zoroastrian studies among the Hindu Parsis of our day,

devotes an important section to this description, in which he pays a high tribute to their scholarship and candor.*

The present Parsi faith is the system of Zoroaster. Monotheism lies at its base. Haug says: "The leading idea of his theology was Monotheism; that is, there are not many gods, but only One. The principle of his speculative philosophy was Dualism; that is, the supposition of two primeval causes of the real world and of the intellectual. His normal philosophy moved in the triad of thought, word, and deed." This idea is confirmed by the realistic statement of Herodotus: "The Persians have no images of the gods, nor temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men." All the Parsi writers are emphatic on this point of Monotheism. They claim that there were, before the appearance of Zoroaster, tendencies among his people to idolatry, but that the entire effort of his life was to counteract it. The present Parsis, basing their doctrines on the most ancient writings of their ancestors, believe in the resurrection of the body, future life, immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments. They reverence the sun, fire, water, and air. They pay such devotion to fire, that, to a stranger, they seem to regard it as a proper object of adoration. But their scholars repudiate the supposition, saying that they only regard fire as a manifestation of Deity. Karaka, speaking for his co-religionists, says: "God, according to the Parsi faith, is the emblem of glory, refulgence, and light, and in this view a Parsi, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to turn his face toward the sun, because they appear to be the most proper symbols of the Almighty." My Parsi fellow-voyagers, in the steamer for Bombay, performed their morning devotions at sunrise, and always took care to turn their faces to the East when making them. One cannot see the minute attention of any Parsi to fire, and his keeping the sacred flame always burning in his temples and home, without firmly believing that, at least among the common people of the community, there is such a regard paid to fire as to be more a devotion than simple respect. It seems

* "Studies in the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis," pp. 54–62.

to be, in their sense, an original divinity rather than a simple emanation.

The Zend-Avesta is the prime source of the Parsi theology and moral system. It abounds in monstrosities, and to sift them out is no easy task. Mitchell has done this successfully,* though his work has not the scholarly completeness of the very important work of Haug,† to whom European scholars are most indebted for a survey of the whole range of the Parsi sacred books. Mitchell says, that we can find in the Zend-Avesta all three systems — Monotheism, Dualism, and Polytheism. Every thing good in creation is, by its precepts, held to be worthy of worship. The following prayer, offered on the last day of the month by the devout Parsis, certainly favors the largest idea of the plurality of gods: "We sacrifice to the eternal and luminous space. We sacrifice to the bright garonma (heaven). We sacrifice to the sovereign place of the eternal weal. We sacrifice to the Chinvat bridge, made by Mazda. We sacrifice to Apam Napat, the swift-horsed, the high and shining lord, who has many wives. We sacrifice to the water made by Mazda, and holy. We sacrifice to the golden stall, homa. We sacrifice to the enlivening homa, who keeps death far away. We sacrifice to the pious and good Blessing. We sacrifice to the awful and powerful, cursing thought of the wise, a god. We sacrifice to all the holy gods of the heavenly world. I praise, I invoke, I meditate on; and we sacrifice to the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones."

In the Parsi theology there are spirits good and evil, who fill all space. The water expressed from the homa plant is the chief article of sacrifice. The ancient Persians sacrificed animals. Herodotus says that Xerxes sacrificed on the site of Troy "a thousand oxen, while the Magi poured out libations in honor of the ancient heroes."‡ But all animal sacrifices have long since ceased. The ceremony of offering the homa is performed not only in the fire-temples of the present Parsis, but in their private houses, twice a day. Great attention is paid to bodily purity. Ablutions are frequent. All the issues from the human body, and even the hair and nails, when cut, are

* "The Zend-Avesta and Religion of the Parsis." London, N. T.

† "Essays on the Parsis." London, 1878. ‡ Book vii, 43.

regarded as defilements, and must be buried in deep holes, around which furrows must be drawn with a knife, and certain prayers offered. * The touching of a dead body is regarded as especially defiling. The moment life is extinct the body is supposed to be possessed by the fiend Nasu, who can be expelled only by bringing up a white dog. The dog immediately sends the demon back to hell. Each day of the month is consecrated to a special divinity, and has its own formal prayers.

The Zend-Avesta has some good teachings, which contrast strongly with other Oriental faiths. For example, it ascribes no immoral acts to the object of worship; sanctions no immoral acts as part of its worship; none of its worship is marked by cruel acts; it exhorts its believers to contend against all productions of the evil principle; and declares its faith in the final triumph of the good over the evil. On the other hand, in the Zend-Avesta there is no idea of the fatherhood of God, of the heinousness of sin, of expiation, of salvation from sin, of guilt consequent upon sin, of divine comfort in sorrow, of the divine purpose in bereavement, and of self-denial and self-sacrifice.

In the religion of Zoroaster there is large place given to the dog. The Avesta devotes a whole division to a description of his excellences, and the light in which he is placed leads inevitably to the conclusion that the dog is, in the Parsi mind, a sacred animal. During the recitation of the funeral address the face of the deceased is exposed three or four times to a dog's gaze. In some mysterious way this animal is supposed to be a guide to the departed to the final heaven, and to guard against the approach of evil spirits on the way thither. Haug says:

> A man who touches a dead body, the contagious impurity of which has not been previously checked by holding toward the corpse a peculiar kind of dog, is said to be at once visited by a specter representing death itself; this is called "drukhsh nasush," or the destructive corruption. . . . It is called the "four-eyed-dog," a yellow spot on each side of its eyelids being considered an additional eye. He has yellow ears, and the color of the rest of his body varies from yellow to white. To his eyes a kind of magnetic influence is ascribed.

* Mitchell, "The Zend-Avesta and the Religion of the Parsis," pp. 34, *ff.*

The Avesta assigns special sanctity to the house dog and the shepherd's dog.

To kill one of either is a crime of grossest character. Sweetness and fatness will never return to the place where it has been committed until the murderer has been smitten to death, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered a sacrifice for three days and nights, with fire blazing, with the baresma tied, and the homa uplifted.*

If any Parsi kill a water dog or otter (udra), he must be unmercifully punished, for the reason that this animal is believed to contain the souls of a thousand male and a thousand female dogs. The perpetrator, to atone for his crime, must receive ten thousand lashes with a horsewhip, or kill ten thousand animals of the bad creation, such as snakes, mice, lizards, or frogs, and carry ten thousand loads of wood to the sacred fire.

Next to their splendid homes and the large public buildings which the Parsis have built, and given to Bombay, the most notable reminder of the Parsis in the city are the Towers of Silence. They are large circular structures, of heavy stone blocks, in an elevated part of the suburban city. Here all the Parsi dead are disposed of. There are five of these towers, standing in a group on a hill a hundred feet high, and rising above the palms and cypresses which grow in beautiful stateliness about them. The better way is to take them on returning from the drive out to Malabar Hill. The carriage way is magnificent, built at the expense of a Parsi, Sir Jamshidji Jijibhai, who also donated one hundred thousand square yards of land on the north and east sides of the towers. The view becomes wondrously beautiful as one ascends, for it embraces the great sea-front of Bombay, and the suburbs on either horn of the wondrous crescent. On reaching the end of the drive you ascend a flight of eighty steps, where there is a notice: "None but Parsis may enter." But the Parsi secretary gave me a permit, which allowed me to walk at leisure about the beautiful grounds, and among the flowers, and take one of the many convenient seats, where the marvelous view can be enjoyed without disturbance. But no permit allows one to enter either of the towers. Not even a Parsi can do it. He would be defiled without hope of purification. The entrance of a

* Vaud, xiii, 172, 167,

bier is a frequent occurrence. I did not see one, and therefore must trust to Eastwick's description:

A bier will be seen carried up the steps by four Nasr Salars, or carriers of the dead, with two bearded men following them closely, and perhaps a hundred Parsis in white robes walking two and two in procession. The bearded men who come next to the corpse are the only persons who enter the tower. They wear gloves, and when they touch the bones it is with tongs. On leaving the tower, after depositing the corpse on the grating within, they proceed to the purifying place, where they wash, and leave the clothes they have worn in a tower built for that express purpose.*

The body is borne up a flight of steps into the opening leading into the mysterious interior of the tower. I was shown a model of a tower, by which I could see the internal construction, although I was not permitted to examine a real one. The largest tower is two hundred and seventy-six feet in circumference, and twenty-six feet above the ground. There are three series of fluted grooves, which constitute the stone flooring of the tower. They diminish in size as they approach the center. The outer circle is for the bodies of men; the second is for those of women; and the third, being smallest, is for the bodies of children. The descent toward the center of the tower is gradual, and the grooves where the bodies are laid conduct the water to the center, which is a great circular pit or well. Just as soon as a body is laid in the tower the bearers return, and the many vultures, which are always flying about, or resting in the trees, in expectancy of a feast, pounce down upon it and tear the flesh rapidly from the bones. There are from five hundred to a thousand of these vultures, and the human body is their chief food. They strip a body in about an hour, so that nothing is left but the skeleton. After the bones are completely dried beneath the tropical sun the carriers go in, and with tongs take them to the pit in the center, and cast them down. There they soon decompose, a process probably hastened by strong chemicals. From the bottom of the pit there are pipes which connect with deep outstanding wells, which are underlaid with thick strata of charcoal. Through this bed the water finds its way, purified, into channels leading out into the sea.

* "Hand-book of the Bombay Presidency," pp. 141, 142.

This method of disposing of the bodies of the dead is a fundamental part of the Parsi faith. That vultures should destroy the lifeless body has been from time immemorial a usage, and no Parsi would think of burial or cremation. The reasons which are given by the community for their method were once presented to Monier Williams, who, when visiting the Bombay Towers of Silence, asked Nasarvanji Beramji, a high ecclesiastical officer, why such a method of destroying the body was resorted to, and adhered to with such fidelity. He received the following reply:

Our prophet Zoroaster, who lived three thousand years ago, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity. Earth, fire, water, he said, ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled by contact with putrefying flesh. Naked, he said, we came into the world, and naked we ought to leave it. But the decaying particles of our bodies should be dissipated as rapidly as possible, and in such a way that neither Mother Earth nor the beings she supports should be contaminated in the slightest degree. In fact, our prophet was the greatest of health officers, and following his sanitary laws we build our towers on the hills, above all human habitations. We spare no expense in constructing them of the hardest materials, and we expose our putrescent bodies in open stone receptacles, resting on fourteen feet of solid granite, not necessarily to be consumed by vultures, but to be dissipated in the speediest possible manner, and without the possibility of polluting the earth or contaminating a single living being dwelling thereon. God, indeed, sends the vultures, and as a matter of fact, these birds do their appointed work much more expeditiously than millions of insects would do if we committed our bodies to the ground. In a sanitary point of view, nothing could be more perfect than our plan. Even the rain water which washes our skeletons is conducted by channels into purifying charcoal. Here in these five towers rest the bones of all the Parsis that have lived in Bombay for the last two hundred years. We form a united body in life, and we are united in death.

Of the effect of this communication on Professor Williams, and the impression derived from a second visit to the towers, in the same year, 1876, he gives the following testimony:

My second visit has confirmed me in my opinion that the Parsi method of disposing of dead bodies is as perfect as any thing can be in a sanitary point of view. There is no spot in Bombay where the breezes appear so healthful as in the beautiful gardens which surround the towers. Nothing during all my travels throughout India, from Cashmere to Cape Comorin, has instructed me more than my two visits to the Parsi Towers of Silence.

This may be quite true, and yet it is hard to forget the loathsome scene of hungry vultures, ready to swoop down upon the body of a dead person the moment it has been left alone in the Silent Tower, and glutting themselves upon such prey. I have brought home from India the memory of these hungry and waiting vultures, one of the most repulsive pictures which I ever gazed upon. One cannot help thinking of such a loathsome scene, with all its associations, much longer than of the beautiful gardens in which the Towers of Silence stand, and the rare and varied scene of the city and the sea and its outlying emerald islands.

There is nothing of which the typical Parsi is prouder, next to the creed he gets from Zoroaster, than of his historical traditions. He loves to think of his old kings, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and all the rest, when the world quaked beneath their armies. He remembers with peculiar joy the time when Persia's eye dared to look upon even Europe as a fit field for conquest, and that his own Xerxes fought the Greeks in the Bay of Salamis, and within sight of Athens. His favorite study, as we have seen, deals with the past. His people, though exiles, regard themselves as the banished descendants of a race of warriors and heroes, who made immortal many a battle-field of old Persia and of the lands she had the prowess to invade. Even after defeat by the Mohammedans, their fathers were not willing to die without a struggle, and Moore tells only the simple truth when he says of them, when only a shattered army:

> "But none, of all who owned the chief's command,
> Rushed to that battle-field with bolder hand
> Or sterner hate than Iran's outlawed men,
> Her worshipers of fire."

That the Parsis of to-day, now that the light of science is breaking upon them, should be making inquiries into the genesis of their faith and the almost lost threads of their history, is a most significant fact. They have found many things to astonish them. The old Pehlavi literature has revealed to them many doctrinal crudities which the better minds would gladly ignore as authority on worship and creed, and which are deviations from the severer code of Zoroaster. But these candid inquiries can only result in good. They will suggest the strik-

ing contrast between the conglomerate Parsi religion and Christianity, while the contact with European Christians will constantly lessen the prejudice against the Christian religion, and make the Parsis more accessible to the Gospel. In the plane of moral ideas they stand so far above the Hindus that we must regard them as occupying a midway position between Christianity and Buddhism.

We cannot but believe that the Parsi, as he studies more closely the differences between his own faith and the Christian, will, in due time, come to accept the latter. His community is sure to be reached by the all-pervading Gospel. Mitchell, who studied the prevailing tendencies among these people during his residence in Bombay, thus expresses his belief in their Christian future:

> The immense disparity between Christ and Zoroaster is dawning, we believe, on that interesting people, the Parsis of India. They have been clinging to their ancient faith from a feeling of nationality rather than of religion—from tradition more than conviction; but immense changes are certainly at hand. But we believe that, as the Magi from the East, who probably were Zoroastrians, hastened to lay their gold, frankincense, and myrrh at the feet of the new-born Redeemer, so, erelong, the Parsis will in all probability be the first of Eastern races to take upon them, as a race, the easy yoke of Christ.

Art. III.—THE INQUISITION.

The Inquisition has the bad distinction of being unrivaled in atrocity among the institutions or events of which history contains any record. The massacres of the French Revolution and the butcheries of the Sepoy Rebellion in India were indeed prodigies of atrocity; but of these one was a spasm of madness in a nation suddenly emancipated, after having been long ground down under the heel of tyranny, and the other was a sudden outburst of fanaticism against a hated domination and an imported and antagonistic religion. Both were spasmodic and temporary. The Inquisition, on the contrary, carried forward for ages and centuries its diabolical work with the coolest deliberation, with the most undisturbed satisfaction to its agents and abettors, and with never an expression of disap-

proval, and in fact even with the most formal commendations, from the highest ecclesiastical authorities.

The Roman Catholic Church formally adopted the machinery of the Inquisition as an integral part of its system, and in all lands where it had undisputed authority the "Holy Office" was employed to terrify and destroy all who dared to oppose the Church. Even in this nineteenth century, and only a few years since, a learned prelate of this Church dedicated a volume of theology to the late Chief-Justice Taney, in which the Inquisition is approved and commended. And still more recently, Monseigneur Capel, the smooth-tongued Jesuit, has dared to defend and even recommend it. Rome has never abolished it. Even to-day, when all civil governments have abolished it, she has an organization, under another name, consisting of the pope at its head, and twelve cardinals, who form the nucleus of the Inquisition, and who are ready, should the opportunity occur, to set its terrible enginery a-going. There is not a Roman Catholic bishop or priest, in this or in any other land, who is ready to denounce it; but all would apparently only be too willing to see its bloody work renewed even among us. The proof of these statements will appear as we proceed.

I. When we look for the *origin* of this institution, we must first of all go down deep into the depraved elements of the unrenewed heart. Here is the root-cause of all opposition to God and real goodness. This was clearly marked out in the primal promise and the primal curse.

The operations of the spirit of the Inquisition were seen in both the patriarchal and prophetical dispensations. The Judaic hierarchy became at times a great persecuting agency. It exiled, stoned, imprisoned, and slew its own prophets. The surrounding nations persecuted the chosen people in turn, and both carried them into captivity and slew them by countless thousands. During the Maccabean dynasty God's ancient Church furnished a multitude of the most heroic martyrs which the world ever saw.

When Christ came, this hatred exhibited itself first against John, whom it beheaded in prison; and then against himself, whom it crucified as a malefactor. Before he went away into the heavens, he foretold the same fierce and fiery opposition which the hierarchies and governments of the world would ex-

hibit toward his apostles and his Church. And soon indeed it came, first from the hierarchy, and next from the empire. For three centuries sanhedrin and court, priests, emperors, governors, prefects, all engaged in the persecuting work; and dungeon and amphitheater, stake and block, witnessed the triumph of heroic faith. But the installation of the Church in political power was not the death-knell of persecution.

Wealth, luxury, social position, and ecclesiastical authority soon superinduced pride and bigotry, and the spirit of persecution. The Church now held in her hands not only the cross, but the sword also. The very weapons before which she had trembled and fled away to mountains and catacombs, the seashore and the desert, she now began to employ herself.

Constantine made heresy a state offense, and repeatedly banished those who refused submission to his doctrinal decisions. Athanasius, Arius, and the Donatists suffered in turn, and repeatedly, from commissions issued against them. The first time, however, that the words "inquisition" and "inquisitors" are used in connection with the searching out and punishment of heretics was under Theodosius I., who, in 382, published an edict against the Manicheans and other sects. Honorius, in 398, threatened the professors of certain heresies with banishment and death if they persisted in bringing people together. Constantius II., in 353, forbade heathen sacrifices under pain of death. Both Theodosius I. and II. punished the offering of those sacrifices with death. The first instance upon record in which a *heretic* was punished with death was in 385, in Spain, at the instance of Bishop Itacius. The victim was Priscillian, a leader of a Gnostic sect. But the Church was not yet ready for such extreme measures, and Itacius was excommunicated and died in exile. For several centuries after this all cases of heresy came before the civil courts, until, subsequently, they were devolved upon the bishops.

In the thirteenth century, the Albigenses in France, the Waldenses in the mountains and valleys of the Alps, and in the fourteenth, the Wycliffites in England and the Hussites in Bohemia had so increased as apparently to threaten the very existence of the papal hierarchy. Popes and cardinals became alarmed; and in turn the rulers of the countries where these sects flourished were aroused by the appeals of the pope and

his bishops to suppress the heresies. As early as 1198 Innocent III. dispatched commissioners with ample powers to investigate and punish such hereties as they might find. This was the seed of the Inquisition. In 1208 Innocent published a crusade against the Albigenses, and called upon the king of France and his nobles to take up the cross against these heretics. In response to this call a prodigious number of knights, led partly by ecclesiastics and by some of the first barons of the land, undertook their extirpation. The war, as it was called, commenced by the storming of Béziers, followed by a massacre in which some say fifteen thousand persons, others say as many as sixty thousand, were put to death. None were permitted to escape. It was during this siege that a Cistercian monk, who led on and inflamed the crusaders, was asked how they were to distinguish the Catholics from the heretics? He replied, "Kill them all! God will know his own." * In this terrible massacre of the Albigenses, Languedoc, once a flourishing country, was desolated and laid waste, her cities burned, and her inhabitants swept away by fire and sword.

This crusade, doubtless, opened the way for the Inquisition. In 1215, only seven years after this, the fourth Council of Lateran enjoined upon the synodal courts the searching out of heresy, and its suppression as a duty—thus establishing the *legal* foundation of inquisitorial courts. In 1229 the Synod of Toulouse confirmed and enlarged these provisions by forty-five propositions, one of which provided that "any prince, lord, bishop, or judge, who shall spare a heretic, shall forfeit his lands, property, or office; and every house in which a heretic is found shall be destroyed." Heretics were not to be allowed a physician, even if suffering under a mortal disease. It also enjoined the wearing of a peculiar dress, and if any recanted they were to be placed in confinement.† But Pope Gregory IX., finding that many bishops were remiss in the execution of these orders, was greatly displeased, and in 1232 he transferred the control of the Inquisition to the Dominicans—first in Austria and Aragon, and in 1233 in Lombardy and southern France. A guild was also founded in 1229, called the "*Militia Jesu Christi contra Hæreticos*," to aid the inquisitors in their work.

* Hallam's "Middle Ages," p. 29, note.

† "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

At first, the ancient Inquisition, established in France, held only transitory tribunals, and their decrees were executed by the civil power. Many were condemned as heretics and imprisoned, their property confiscated, and their families placed under disabilities. But so fearful was its work, and so horrifying to the people, that they frequently rose in rebellion, and in Toulouse, in 1245, took bloody vengeance on some of the inquisitors.* In May, 1232, by a bull of Gregory IX. the Dominican friars were appointed inquisitors in Aragon; and from that period their work went forward in Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and Portugal. Before this time, even, there was a constitution of Peter I. of Aragon against heretics, prescribing, in certain cases, the burning of their persons and the confiscation of their estates. In 1242, the Council of Tarragona framed additional provisions, which were the primitive instructions of the "Holy Office" in Spain. All these, strictly speaking, were in the *ancient* Inquisition; and they embodied the essential elements which were afterward employed in the modern. There were the same secrecy, the same modes of accusation, a similar use of torture, and the same penalties.† It was not, however, until the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that the Holy Office was fully organized. This was not for any want of fanatical zeal in the sovereigns of Spain, for Ferdinand had himself heaped the fagots on the blazing pile with his own hands; and John II., Isabella's father, had hunted the heretics in Biscay like beasts of prey.‡

The first victims of the fury of the reorganized Inquisition in Spain were the Jews. They had enjoyed peculiar privileges in the Visigothic empire, and had multiplied exceedingly in numbers and in wealth. But alarm was created by the rumored probability of a union between the Moors and the Jews against the Christians, and severe restrictive measures were employed. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, the people, inflamed by the clergy, and encouraged by a numerous class of debtors, who thought in this way to speedily settle their accounts, fell upon the Jews, destroying their property, and massacring them indiscriminately. In this crisis many Jews professed the Catholic faith, and were called "the New Chris-

* "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

† Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, p. 233, and note. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

tians." One monk alone, St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia, is said to have converted no less than 35,000. In their new position many of them rose to high distinction, both in the Church and State. But they were not, after all, free from suspicion, and loud murmurs began to be heard against them. A curate of Los Palacios, in Andalusia, wrote of them, charging, among many other things, "that they were unwilling to bring their children to baptism; and if they did, they washed the stain away as soon as they got home; that they dressed their stews and other dishes in oil, and not in lard; abstained from pork, kept the passover, and ate meat in lent." There were two others, prominent persons, who joined in this cry against them: Alfonso de Ojeda and Diego de Merlo, the former a Dominican friar of the monastery of St. Paul, in Seville, and the latter an assistant of the city. The papal nuncio at the court of Castile vigorously supported them. They recommended the Holy Office to Ferdinand and Isabella as the only means of getting rid of them. To all this the weak and bigoted Ferdinand lent a willing ear. But it was not so easy to obtain the consent of Isabella. Naturally, she was gentle, amiable, and benevolent; and if her training had not been conducted by such confessors as Talavera and Torquemada, she might have shone forth before the eyes of the world as one of the most excellent queens. And even with all the guilt attaching to her on account of her share in the persecution of Jews and heretics, she is regarded with admiration for her many benevolent acts and her aid to Columbus.

But the fires of fanaticism and bigotry had been kindled in her breast; and encouraged by her confessors, by the papal nuncio, by the pope himself, and by her royal husband, she consented to ask from the pope for *a* bull which would authoritatively introduce the Holy Office into her kingdom. Sixtus IV. readily complied with the request, and expedited a bull November 1, 1478, authorizing them to appoint two or three ecclesiastics Inquisitors, for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions. For a little time after the introduction of the Inquisition the queen endeavored to modify its measures; but once started in their bloody work nothing could restrain the violence and fury of these Dominican friars.*

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 248–250.

Indeed, so energetic were they in hunting heretics that they were called *Domini canes* (the dogs of the Lord).* Victims were multiplied, so that the inquisitors were obliged to seek more spacious quarters for their work in the fortress of Triana in the suburbs. On the 6th of January, six victims suffered at the stake; seventeen were executed in the following March; a greater number in the following month; and by November of the same year no less than two hundred and ninety-eight persons had been sacrificed in the *autos da fé* of Seville. Torquemada, a name branded with eternal infamy, was appointed Inquisitor-general in 1483, and it was his demoniacal genius which organized the modern Inquisition. In vain did a fearful plague rage in Seville in this period, sweeping away 15,000 of its inhabitants, as if, says Prescott, in token of the wrath of Heaven against these enormities. "Still the bloody work went on, until it is computed that within this year 2,000 persons were burned alive, a still greater number who were dead or could not be found were burned in effigy, and 17,000 were *reconciled*—which meant that they were spared from death, only to suffer civil incapacity, the total confiscation of their property, or imprisonment for life." †

In Italy the pope laid the foundation for the Holy Office in 1216, when he appointed Domingo de Guzman first Inquisitor. For his fidelity in his work Guzman was canonized. But the sovereign states of Italy were not in favor of this papal measure. Venice would not allow a foreigner to intermeddle in the sentence or the execution of heretics. Lombardy had two Dominican inquisitors appointed to it to carry out their atrocious work; but one was killed by the enraged people in the execution of his office. The governor of Genoa refused to support the decrees of the Holy Office, and the magistrates generally sanctioned his acts. But for this he was excommunicated, the city was placed under interdict, and the governor finally submitted to have the sentence of capital punishment inflicted upon all who were delivered over to him under judgment of heresy. In Parma the inhabitants rescued a woman from the stake who had been sentenced by the inquisitors,

* McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, article "Inquisition."

† Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 252–253; Llorente, Hist. del Inquisition, tom. i, p. 160.

dispersed the executioners, went to the Franciscan convent, burst open the doors, battered down the roof of the church, and administered severe castigation on the bodies of as many friars as they could find, so that they all fled, except one who died from the effects of his wounds.* From these and other causes there were not so many victims of the Inquisition in Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands. But, instead of putting heretics to death by the Inquisition, the papacy made use of other methods to destroy those who were condemned by its tribunals. In 1461 John, archbishop of Emburn, undertook the task of extirpating the Waldensian heresies, by means of monitions, exhortations, and injunctions. In this he utterly failed. Twenty years afterward he renewed his efforts, excommunicating them all for their contumacy, and delivering them into the hands of a brutal soldiery. In one valley alone 3,000 were destroyed by the sword, or were smothered to death by fires kindled at the mouth of the caves in which they had sought refuge. And for ages afterward this bloody work was carried on. In 1686 they were attacked by a French and Italian army, when 3,000 were killed, 10,000 imprisoned, and 3,000 of their children distributed in Catholic towns and villages to be brought up in the Romish faith. And all this because they refused to believe the dogmas of the Romish Church, and protested against its monstrous errors. But all honor to these heroic saints. They kept alive for ages the flame of a pure religion amid the everlasting snows and ice of the Alps; and when Victor Emmanuel battered down the gates of Rome, they were ready to come from their hills and valleys and spread themselves over the land, preaching, without hinderance, that pure Gospel for which they and their ancestors had so long and patiently suffered. The story of their heroic struggles is one of the most thrilling chapters of history.†

The Spanish king sent emissaries to Sicily to establish the Holy Office in that island, but the inhabitants were so united in their resistance that the inquisitors were obliged to retreat. In the sixteenth century courts were established for the suppression of Protestant doctrines in Tuscany, Venice, Milan, and Parma; but executions were only allowed to take place under the sanc-

* "Brand of Dominic," by Rev. W. Rule, pp. 315–317, 323.

† "American Cyclopedia," article "Waldenses."

tion of the temporal sovereigns, which, in most instances, was only too easily obtained. In 1588 the pope changed the name of the Holy Office to that of the "Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition," making it to consist of twelve cardinals and several assessors, consulters, and qualificators. This office is *now* substantially in existence. In 1808 Napoleon destroyed the Inquisition in all Italy. Pius VII. restored it in 1814 in the Papal States, and in 1833 in Tuscany and Sardinia. Under Victor Emmanuel and his honored son and successor the Inquisition has been practically suspended, but its horrid machinery still exists.*

Next to Spain, and because it was under the domination of Spain, the Netherlands suffered the most severely from this bloody institution. Charles V. planted it in that country. It was his gift to its inhabitants in return for their constant obedience and wasted treasures.† This was doubtless the cause of the revolt of the people. Charles gave to the Inquisition the largest powers to seize, try, condemn, and punish all heretics. When he abdicated his throne, his son, Philip II., one of the most fanatical and cruel and blood thirsty wretches that ever occupied a throne, in the very first month of his reign renewed these powers and confirmed them.‡ As the name of Torquemada is branded with eternal infamy for his part in the Inquisition of Spain, so that of Peter Titelmann will forever be held up to the execration of the ages for his part in the persecutions in the Netherlands. The work of death went steadily forward under his administration, and multitudes were slain. Philip was ever ready to sustain him in his bloody work, and the pope rejoiced over the number of the victims. The people, however, steadily resisted this persecution. Two ministers of Valenciennes, condemned to the stake, were rescued from the flames by the incensed populace, and delivered from the prison, to which their guards had hurried them away. But for this act of interference they were terribly punished. Some were burned, some beheaded, and in various other ways were made to atone for their heroic efforts. Great was the rage of Philip and the pope against these sturdy defenders of religious

* "Brand of Dominic," pp. 303–367; "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

† Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. i, p. 114. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 330–331.

liberty. The ancient tyrant "wished that his enemies' heads were all on one neck, that he might strike them off at a blow." The Inquisition enabled Philip to place the heads of all his Netherlands subjects at his disposal. Upon the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the Inquisition "condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics." From this universal doom only a few persons, especially named, were excepted. A proclamation of Philip only a few days after this confirmed the decree of the Holy Office, and ordered it to "be carried into instant execution, without regard to age, sex, or condition." This, says Motley, is the most concise death-warrant that was ever framed. Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines; and as it was known that these were not harmless thunders, like some of the bulls of the Vatican, the horror which they produced may be easily imagined.* Some have estimated the number of victims as high as 100,000. But no one can read Motley's inimitable history without coming to the conclusion, from the data furnished, that at least 50,000 were butchered. Many single instances of heroic suffering at the stake are given by him, which may be read with thrilling interest on his vivid pages.†

The Inquisition was established in Portugal in 1536. King John III., like Philip II., was fanatically bigoted, especially against the Jews and Lutherans. It was not necessary that the pope should urge him—he could even afford to show signs of disapproval at his fanatical zeal against penitent Jews; but both pope and king were agreed that Lutherans should be burned without pity. Victims were multiplied, but not as in Spain; nor was the Inquisition allowed to show itself so publicly there, although *autos da fé* were not uncommon. In 1560 its jurisdiction was extended to the Portuguese colonies in India, and Goa became the seat of its terrible operations. As in Spain and Portugal so here, the first victims were Jews, but afterward the Nestorian Christians were made to feel its awful power, and large numbers were put to death. Burnings were frequent, *autos*, with all their terrible accompaniments, were re-enacted for more than a century, multitudes were imprisoned in the vilest of dungeons, and how many thousands per-

* Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. ii, p. 158. † *Ibid.*, vol. i, 333–337.

ished can never be known. This institution still existed in Goa in the year 1812, when Dr. Buchanan wrote his "Christian Researches in Asia;" but it was soon after abolished.*

It could scarcely be expected that, after the discovery of America by Columbus, and the grant made by the pope to Ferdinand and Isabella of all the lands in "Terra Firma," its inhabitants would escape the fury of Rome's persecuting policy. It was feared by the pope and the king that "the New Christians" might take refuge in the new country, and therefore provisions must be made to arrest and punish them there. Accordingly, a royal order was signed on the 20th day of May, 1520, against them and the recalcitrant natives. The same regulations were made for Panama in 1569, and in Lima and Mexico in 1570. The Inquisition was formally established in 1570, and in 1574 the first *autos* were celebrated with great pomp. In one of these an Englishman and a Frenchman, probably a Huguenot who had escaped the St. Bartholomew massacre, were burned, and eighty penitents were exhibited. In 1648 there is an account of an *autos da fé* in which were punished by death and penance twenty-eight persons, and the narrator says seventy were put to death the year previous.† On the day following these transactions, what was called "the judgment of lashes" was executed. The poor victims received, sometimes, as high as two hundred lashes, and many died under the scourge. In 1659 another burning occurred, when an Irishman, suspected of the heresies of Luther and Calvin, was given to the flames.‡ This abominable institution continued to exist in Mexico until the Republic was proclaimed, when its buildings were sold, and its work of formal public persecution ended. The building of the Inquisition in Puebla was bought by our Missionary Society in 1873. In searching it, the masons found twelve cells, each four feet six inches square and seven feet in height. Such cells were always kept ready for victims, the little door being alone left open for their admission. When one was sentenced to death, he or she was thrown into the prison, the little opening was walled up, and the victim left to perish in a living tomb. Four of these victims, so recently immured that they could be brought into the air

* "Brand of Dominic," by Rule, pp. 260–287.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 291–293, note. ‡ *Ibid.*, by Rule, p. 300.

without breaking in pieces, were brought out into the inclosure, placed standing against a flower-stand and photographed, so that future generations could see the results of this infernal tribunal.*

II. What is *the character and the design of this institution?* It must be understood that the Roman Catholic Church regards itself, in its head, as the vicegerent of God upon the earth, and in its organization as the only true Church of God. From this it argues that it is justly entitled to rule over all nations and peoples. All who refuse to submit to her authority are not only heretics and traitors, but also *rebels*, against whom she is warranted to proceed whenever and wherever she has the opportunity, by fire and sword, by dungeon, stripes, and death. She makes no secret of her claims and designs. No necessity exists for quotations from her authorities on this point. Only a few years since Monseigneur Doane, with the sanction and authority of Bishop (afterward Archbishop) Bailey—renegade Protestants both of them—published a pamphlet in which he says: "Protestantism is a gigantic rebellion against the Church of God (Roman Catholic). As rebels Protestants of every name have been regarded by the Church, and as such they ever must be, until they return and submit to her authority, which they resist." And then, by way of illustration of how Rome should command submission, he instances the fact that England caused the bodies of rebels to be blown from the cannon's mouth in India, and America put down rebellion by fire and sword, and so the Church may and should treat rebels against her authority, which is a greater crime than rebellion against any government. †

This being a fundamental position of the Romish Church, it follows that whoever will not voluntarily submit to her authority must be made to suffer her chastisements. And this she has proceeded to carry out in every country where she has gained the control of the government. This, there is no room to doubt, she would do in America if she had the power. Sometimes she has pleaded, in extenuation of her part in the bloody work of the Inquisition, that it was the civil government which asked for it, and that put its victims to death. But who pro-

* Dr. William Butler.

‡ Pamphlet on "Exclusion of Protestant Worship from Rome," p. 16.

vided the Inquisition? Who influenced kings and queens to ask for it? Who inspired it? Who has threatened excommunication, interdict, and dethronement if her will was not obeyed? There is but one answer furnished by the pages of history to these inquiries: The Church of Rome! Well does Motley say: "It taught the savages of India and America to shudder at the name of Christianity. The fear of its introduction froze the earlier heretics of Italy, France, and Germany into (its) orthodoxy." *

The jurisdiction of its courts extended to all persons, whatever their rank or distinction. "How can you bear to see me burn?" said a young nobleman to Philip the Second, as the ghostly *Domini canes* were leading him to the stake. "I would burn my own son," he answered, "if he were as great a heretic as you." †

There can be no doubt that Rome favored and encouraged this institution. It could not have been established without a papal bull, and that was never withheld when asked for, and was sometimes issued without the asking. Occasionally a bishop, or cardinal, or pope was moved with sympathy for the suffering people; but these were the few and rare exceptions. If when Louis IX. of France, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and John II. of Portugal, asked for the Inquisition the papal hierarchy had declined, it would never have been established. Had the popes been opposed to dungeons, tortures, and burnings, they could have put an end to them in a day. But the whole mass of evidence shows that they not only approved of them, but often urged the inquisitors forward in their hellish work.‡ Who appointed the fiendish Torquemada to be Inquisitor in Spain? Who appointed the infamous Titelmann in the Netherlands? Who urged on the crusades against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and Hussites? Who prompted the massacre of St. Bartholomew, ordered a Te Deum to be sung in the churches, and a monumental painting to be made upon the walls of the Vatican of its bloody horrors? Only one answer can be given. One of the preachers of that day declared, "God was the first Inquisitor, and Moses, David, Christ, James, and John were also Inquisitors." Who named the institution the Holy Office? Who exulted when generations of Jews, Moors,

* "Dutch Republic," vol. i, p. 323. † *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 330. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 322–346.

Indians, New Christians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Albigenses, Waldenses, Huguenots, and others were butchered, massacred, or driven into exile and death? The same answer in every instance is returned. Sometimes, doubtless, the spirit of cupidity largely prevailed, both against Jews and Christians. Prescott well says, "It is easy to discern in the medley of credulity and superstition the secret envy entertained by the Castilians of the superior skill and industry of their Hebrew brethren, and of the superior riches which these qualities secured to them; and it is impossible not to suspect that the zeal of the most orthodox was not sharpened by worldly motives." * "The sword of justice was observed in particular to strike at the wealthy." †

Motley says the same of the inquisitors in the Netherlands. § There is no mistaking, then, either the character or design of this institution. And it is worse than useless for Monseigneur Capel, and the Romish Church with him, to attempt to gloss over its most atrocious and diabolical work.

III. Let us now look at the *methods* pursued in carrying out these designs. As the instructions proceeded from Rome, they were very similar in all the countries where the Inquisition was established, and they were modified only as necessity demanded. It was made the duty of every bishop, priest, and layman to hunt out heresy, and to report those who were even suspected of it. They were required to do this under penalty of confiscation and death. Parents, children, husbands, wives, were required to inform against each other. The names of the accusers, informers, and witnesses were never revealed to the accused. § When a person was accused, or informed against, he was quietly and quickly arrested, taken from the bosom of his family or on the street, and seldom or never seen again unless at the stake. The accused was brought before the tribunal, sometimes after months of imprisonment in the most loathsome dungeons. When the trial was held the Inquisitor was instructed to say, "'Be assured, my child, that I am very sorry for you; they have imposed on your simplicity and ruined you. You have been in error, no doubt; but your deceiver is

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, p. 244.

† "History of Dutch Republic." ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

§ Limborch, "Inquisition," Book iv, cap. xx; "Eymeric," i, 356.

more to blame than you. Be not a partaker of other men's sins, nor think of acting the part of a teacher when you are but a learner. Confess the truth. You see that I know it well already; but I want you to save your character, and enable me to set you at liberty as soon as possible, and let you return home in peace. But tell me, who led you first astray?'" Perhaps the accused will declare his innocence, or the evidence against him may be incomplete; the Inquisitor may then ask general questions, and if the answers are not satisfactory, may "turn over the notes of a former examination, and say, 'It is clear that you are not telling the truth. Do not equivocate any longer.'" He may then turn over a bundle of papers and seem to be reading them, and, when the accused denies any thing, start, as with surprise, and ask how he can deny that? . . . and say, every now and then, 'Ah! did I not say so? Confess the truth.'" * Again:

> When the Inquisitor has an opportunity, he shall manage so as to introduce to the prisoner some one who has been an accomplice, or any other converted heretic, who shall feign that he still persists in his heresy, telling him that he only abjured for the purpose of escaping punishment. Having thus gained his confidence he shall go into his cell some day after dinner, and keeping up the conversation till night, shall remain with him under pretext that it is too late for him to return home. He shall then urge him to tell him all the particulars of his life, having first told him the whole of his own; and in the meantime spies shall be kept in hearing at the door, as well as a notary, in order to certify what may be said within. †

Should these methods succeed, and the poor quivering victim through fear or the promise of favor confess he was granted the privilege (?) of confiscation of goods, or a life of imprisonment, or, if released, he must bear the *sanbenito* (a yellow habit, with a St. Andrew's cross worked upon it), or, if his heresy was violent, he might be strangled before he was burned. If he would not confess, or if he confessed the principal fact, only varying as to the circumstances, or if his answers were confused, the doctors of the Church were agreed that he might be put to the torture. "The victim, thus condemned, was taken into the deepest vaults of the Inquisition,

* "Brand of Dominic," Rule, pp. 51, 52.

† Puigblauch "Inquisition Unmasked;" Eymeric's Instructions; Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i, pp. 110–124.

where no human ears could hear his or her cries, save those of the fiendish tormentors." * The victims, male and female, were stripped naked, and the implements of torture held out before them, to frighten them into a confession. Sometimes a tight garment was put on the victim, which was almost as torturing as the rack. Then came the stretching on the rack. If once was not sufficient to extort confession, there followed more severe shocks, by the tension and sudden relaxation of the cord —given once, twice, thrice, sometimes oftener, until the poor victim's flesh was torn, his limbs disjointed, and his whole frame quivered with intense agony. If all this did not suffice, the torture might be repeated on the following day, or as soon as the victim was able to bear it. Other tortures were also resorted to, as binding the thumbs with small cords, until the blood gushed from under the nails; tying various parts of the body with small cords, and drawing them by means of iron pulleys, until blood streamed from every pore. At other times the victim would be suspended from the ceiling, his weight resting on the cords, or his feet or head placed over burning coals; or, water would be caused to drop on the head from the ceiling, until the victim was well-nigh driven to madness; or, with red-hot pincers the quivering flesh would be torn from various parts of the body. Indeed, no torture which we can conceive it possible for hell to invent was unused. "The fact of the infliction of these tortures," says Prescott, "is admitted by the Secretary of the Holy Office, who has furnished the most authentic account of its transactions; and it is shown not to have been exaggerated in any of the numerous narratives which have dragged these subterranean horrors to light." † And yet this is the Institution which Monseigneur Capel and the Romish Church commend to our American citizens.

If the victim, after all this process of torture, was adjudged guilty, he was condemned to death, and awaited the coming of an *auto da fé*. When the morning of the day on which this was to be celebrated arrived, the grandees of the realm, putting on the sable livery of familiars of the Holy Office, and bearing aloft its banners, condescended to act as an escort to its ministers, while, not infrequently, the royal presence countenanced the dreadful ceremony. The victims were attired in yellow

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 257–258. † *Ibid.*, p. 258.

robes, without sleeves, embroidered all over with devices and black figures of devils and flames of fire. A large conical paper miter was placed on the head, upon which was represented a human being in the midst of flames, surrounded by imps. The tongue was then painfully gagged, so that they could neither open nor shut their mouths. They were then led forth to the place of execution, where a sermon was preached, the 51st Psalm chanted, and those who still remained steadfast were burned at the stake, while those who, in the last extremity, abandoned their faith were allowed to be strangled before they were cast into the flames.* At first no gag was used; but when they ascertained that the victims would sing and shout and exhort, both on the way to the burning and at the stake, this implement of torture was employed to prevent such doings. In the Walloon provinces, in the Netherlands, the condemned had sung the hymns of Marot in the very faces of their inquisitors, and had triumphed at the stake. So they invented the following method to make this impossible: Before the condemned left their dungeons, they drew out their tongues with pincers, and slipped a red-hot iron ring over it, thus rendering it impossible for these heroic saints to speak or sing.†

The authorities vary somewhat in the reported number of victims put to death by the Inquisition, directly and indirectly —that is, by burning and torture, and by massacres and butchery. Of course, the exact numbers can never be fully known until "the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters" has come. Llorente computes that during Torquemada's ministry there were no less than 10,220 burned in Spain; 6,860 condemned and burned in effigy, as absent or dead; 97,321 *reconciled* by various penances.‡ In the reign of Philip V. there were 782 *autos da fé*. Zunita says, in his "Anales," that by 1520 the Inquisition in Seville had sentenced more than 4,000 persons to be burned, and 30,000 to other punishments. He quotes also from another author, who estimated the number condemned by this tribunal within the same time at 100,000. From the time of Torquemada until the year 1809, Llorente estimates that there were: Burned alive, 31,912; burned in effigy, 17,659; penitents with all their disabilities, 291,450; or

* Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. i, p. 475. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 159, 343.
‡ Llorente, tom. i, p. 239. § "Anales," tom. iv, fol. 324.

a total of 341,021. This was by the Spanish Inquisition alone. Motley estimates that fully 100,000 suffered from the Inquisition in the Netherlands, under Titelmann and others. In these two countries alone we have nearly half a million of victims. But if we include the numbers who suffered in France by the Inquisition, in the war with the Albigenses, by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and similar ones in various parts of that kingdom, those who were put to death by the Holy Office in Italy, and in the crusades against the Waldenses, the victims of its fury in Portugal and Goa, and in South America and Mexico, not even including the Jews and the Moors, doubtless more than a million persons suffered from its diabolical work. Of course, efforts have been made by Roman Catholic writers to minify these numbers, to cast discredit upon the statements of Llorente, Limborch, and others, and to make it appear that this horrid institution was, after all, not only harmless, but a useful and holy thing. But they cannot succeed in this where people read and think. Prescott and Motley, in their inimitable histories, follow Llorente and Limborch. The "American Cyclopedia," in its article on the Inquisition, says that "Prescott pronounces Llorente's computations as exaggerated, and his estimates most improbable." We have searched Prescott again and again, and can find no such language. But he does say:

> Don Juan Antonio Llorente is *the only writer who has succeeded in completely lifting the veil from the dread mysteries of the Inquisition* . . . Llorente was secretary to the tribunal of Madrid from 1790 to 1792. His official station consequently afforded him every facility for an acquaintance with the most recondite affairs of the Inquisition; and on its suppression in 1808 he devoted several years to a careful investigation of the registers of the tribunals, both of the capital and the provinces, as well as of such other original documents contained within their archives as had not hitherto been opened to the light of day. In the progress of his work he has anatomized the most odious features of the institution with unsparing severity; and his reflections are warmed with a generous and enlightened spirit, certainly not to have been expected in an ex-inquisitor. The arrangement of his immense mass of materials is, indeed, somewhat faulty, and the work might be recast in a more popular form, especially by means of a copious retrenchment. *With all its subordinate defects, however, it is entitled to the credit of being the most—indeed the only—authentic history of the modern Inquisition*, exhibiting its minutest forms of practice, and the insidious policy by which they

were directed, from the origin of the institution down to its temporary abolition. *It well deserves to be studied* as the record of the most humiliating triumph which fanaticism has ever been able to obtain over human reason, and that, too, during the most civilized periods, and in the most civilized portion of the world. The persecutions endured by the unfortunate author of the work *prove that the embers of this fanaticism may be rekindled too easily, even in the present century.** [The italics are our own.]

It is but justice, however, to add that Prescott in the last revision of his History gives less credit to Llorente's accounts, and diminishes the number of the victims of this institution. But, even after all deductions from the number of victims has been made, it surpasses in horror and cruelty any other institution which has ever existed in this world.

But the mighty movements of the reformation in Germany, the advance in public opinion in France and Italy, the opposition of the people in Portugal, the arms of Napoleon in Spain and Italy, and the establishment of the Republic in Mexico, at length put down this terrible institution, so that it can no longer publicly execute its bloody work. But it died hard, if, indeed, it may be said to be even yet dead. We know that, although nominally destroyed by Napoleon I., it still existed in Italy until the reign of Victor Emmanuel. Dr. Achilli was imprisoned in its dungeons in 1842. Its old edicts against the Jews were revived in 1843. When the prison of the Inquisition was broken into in 1849, victims were still found in it, and human skulls and bones were taken out by the people in vast quantities. As late as 1857, the Inquisition was vigorous in persecuting all suspected of Protestantism, and such as were found with heretical books were severely punished.† The organization still exists in Italy, with the pope at its head, under the name of "The Congregation of the Holy Office." The pope is president, with twelve cardinals, who have charge of all questions relating to faith and morals. At present, of course, it cannot act publicly, and is confined to simple spiritual jurisdiction.‡

An officer under Napoleon, Colonel Lemanouski, gives the following thrilling sketch of the destruction of the Inquisition

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 268, 269, note.

† "Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia," art. "Inquisition."

‡ "American Cyclopedia," art. "Inquisition."

in Madrid: After having broken down the walls, and advancing to the interior of the building, he ordered the Inquisitor-general and the ghostly confessors under arrest, as well as the soldiers under their command. They then proceeded from room to room to find the dungeons and instruments of torture. But to their surprise none were visible. The holy fathers assured them that they had seen every thing. But Colonel de Lile ordered water to be brought in and poured over the marble floor. Soon an opening was discovered, and a soldier with the butt of his musket struck a spring, when the marble slab flew up. Then the faces of the inquisitors grew pale, and trembling seized them. Seizing a candle, Colonel Lemanouski started to go down the staircase, when he discovered a large room, called the "Hall of Judgment." In the center was a large block, with a chain, where the accused had been seated and chained. Small cells at the right extended the whole length of the edifice. In these were found living sufferers of every age and of both sexes, and all as naked as when they were born; some who had been dead only a short time; and others of whom nothing remained but their bones. The living were speedily released, and supplied with food and clothing. In another room were found the implements of torture, of every kind which the ingenuity of men or devils could invent. At the sight of these the fury of the French soldiery could no longer be restrained. They commenced at once to use them upon the holy fathers, until vengeance had been wreaked upon them all. When the people learned that the prisons had been opened, they rushed in to see if they could find their friends, when among the haggard victims were discovered brother and sister, son and daughter; but others had gone, and their remains could no longer be recognized. After all this was done a large quantity of gunpowder was placed under the building, and the whole edifice was razed to the ground.* Such is the Romish Inquisition, and such has been its work in the past. The very vitals of the worst heathen nations would freeze with horror at the bare recital of its atrocities. And yet Rome has never condemned them. She does not condemn them now. She even dares to commend this institution, in the nineteenth century, to the American people!

* No. 460, American Tract Society."

Art. IV.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE REVISION.

One of the fifty-four translators of King James's Bible was Dr. Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, "skilled in architecture, whose judgment was much relied on for the fabric of the tabernacle and temple." Hugh Broughton, a distinguished Hebraist of that period, wanted the business of revision committed to a British "seventy," who should have power to consult gardeners, artists, and other specialists about words connected with their several callings, and bound to submit their work to the judgment of some one qualified by knowledge and training to resolve questions relating to special departments.

Distribution of labor among skilled and interested laborers would tend naturally to the greater perfection of a version or revision. Every one who opens a new version directs foremost attention to points that have been with him subjects of particular investigation. Without pretense to the scientific or musical ability necessary to aid in translating, the writer has cherished a life-long interest in the song-themes of the Hebrews, and their proper expression in sacred worship. On the burning question "instrument or no instrument" in the house of God he has had but one opinion, and a few words of personal reminiscence may be the most fitting introduction to the topic named at the head of this article. Half a century ago, as is well known, there was a Quaker-like opposition among Methodists to pews, steeples, bells, choirs, bass-viols and organs. The writer's education precluded any affiliation with these notions. One of his earliest recollections is that of a big bass-viol on which his father sawed on Sunday evenings, while the infantile voices of his family joined in hymnic and psalmodic accompaniments. When, in due time, at the age of twelve, he got bigger than the "chello," he began to wield the bow himself, and played in aid of the choir at the dedication of the little Methodist temple at whose altars he first kneeled in 1831. Later he played accompaniments for church choirs, notably for that of which his college classmates were members, Hyer, the strong-lunged leader; Kellogg, father

of the *cantatrice*, and Harlow, the saintly and sainted, flutists; while the embryo editor of the "Methodist Review" underwent devotion and endured the penance of inflicted song in the somewhat perfunctory daily exercises of a college chapel. In 1833, while teaching in Auburn, N. Y., the writer was made leader of the choir of the elegant new stone church, and, innocently enough, sought to support the singing by introducing a bass-viol to the church gallery. A heinous offense it proved, so grievous to one old brother that he hurried out of the house at the first twang of the strings of the "ungodly big fiddle." Next day he made a furious attack upon the youthful "chellist," who sought to defend himself by instancing the profuse use of musical instruments by David in the first dispensation. "David," said the irate old-timer, "was a bad man, lived badly, and died with murder in his heart." The official board, under the leadership of the pastor, Dr. George Peck, advised the discontinuance of the offending viol. The irate old brother whose conscience was so sensitive on this subject got out of the church through intemperance shortly after, and when I passed through Auburn by cars a year or two later I saw the sad wreck of the fiery anti-Davidian peddling peanuts and candy for a precarious living at the station. Rough rencounter with this man and others who held similiar views induced special study of the subject. Invitations to lecture in behalf of a juvenile drum-corps, recently, suggested "Musical Instruments" as a fitting theme, and re-opened interest in Hebrew song and instrumentation, and, next to that, the intimately related inquiry how this topic was treated in the late Revision.

Hebrew Musical Instruments.

The invention of musical instruments and their use in worship date from the earliest records of every race and nation. In the Jewish annals instrumental music is mentioned before vocal. Jubal—Trumpet-blast—seventh in descent from Adam, was the pioneer inventor of those that handle harp and organ. Semitic shepherds had every known species of instrument in primitive times. Music, vocal and instrumental, was taught in the schools of the prophets, and used to enliven social occasions in the hut of the peasant and the palace of the king. Especially

was it brought into prominent requisition in the worship of Jehovah in the Jewish tabernacle and temple as long as tabernacle and temple stood. Bible versionists and readers find over two hundred and thirty references to instruments of some kind, sometimes solitary and by way of poetic illustration and embellishment, often pertaining to war, worship, or orchestral bands. The force of many of these allusions is lost to us. In the natural progress of that decay and renewal which is the inexorable law of all finite growth, words and languages decay and die, destined, like other decayed matter, to fertilize the soil from which new crops spring.

In the course of centuries, liturgies die, word after word, on the lips of the worshipers who chant them. The psalms are sung and recited in Hebrew by thousands of Jews in every land, with whom Hebrew is no longer the vernacular, and to whom the original Hebrew, that of Abraham and David, is a dead letter. The service of the Latin Church, constructed when Latin was the colloquial of the people, died on the lips of the congregations, and Rome's worship to-day is in an unknown tongue. The prayer-book services of Edward the Sixth and the Bible Versions of the Protestant Reformers are dying in the same way. Revision and ultimate death are the only alternatives. There is no other. When the Hebrew, in the third century before Christ, had become dead or limited and local, it was found necessary to put the Scriptures into Greek, then the world-wide medium of communication, the language of commerce, thought, books, social and national intercourse. Seven hundred years later, when the Roman power filled the world, the Bible was translated into Latin, and in the later centuries, as both Greek and Latin died out, into the current dialects of the European nations. Divine worship seeks intelligent expression. Worship is inseparable from the religion taught by the Bible. Music is an essential part of worship. The liturgical song-book of the Hebrews is the song-book of the converted nations. The psalms were the outburst of song. They were sung into the world, and made to be sung in all time. The Asiatic had no idea of song separable from instrumental accompaniment. The psalms not only imply instrumental accompaniment, but they expressly enjoin it in impassioned strains in a dozen places. Secular verse, in ode

and tragedy, would be bald without accompaniment. The Church of God should not be worse served than the theater. The absurdity of one-idea crankism on this subject is never set forth in a more painfully ludicrous light than when an anti-instrumentist sings, in bald nasality,

> "Praise Jah with trumpet's sound! His praise with psaltery advance!
> With trumpet, harp, stringed instruments, and organ, with the dance!
> Praise Him on cymbals loud! Him praise on cymbals sounding high! "

Precisely what ancient music was we have very limited means of knowing. The names of some twenty musical instruments remain in the surviving records, but their forms and powers have perished from the memory of man.

Five of these, called in our translation tabrets, timbrels, cymbals, and bells, are supposed to have belonged to the pulsative or percussive class, earliest developed, no doubt, in the history of the race, as intimated by the fondness of childhood for rhythmic noise, shown as soon as the infant begins to grasp and strike one solid substance against another. Seven others were wind instruments, and eight were stringed.

The Jews were essentially a trumpeting nation, as the native Africans are a drumming race. In the Hebrew records there are thirty references to instruments of the drum species, seventy to the string family, and over a hundred to trumpets and horns.

Perplexities of Translators.

The first perplexity is, that the early Hebrew was written in consonants, and that the vowel sounds were supplied later by vocal usage, tradition, or conjecture. The familiar Persian word paradise was spelled in vowelless Semitic fashion, PRDS. In like manner the leading instrument of the pulsative kind, תף, was written TPh, and pronounced Tuph, Toph, or Tohph, supposed to be the duff or diff of the modern Arabs.

The two commonest stringed instruments, harp (כנור) and psaltery (נבל), were represented to the eye as KNVR and NBL, pronounced Kinnohr and Nebel.

The chief wind instruments were two trumpets, about whose shape and powers there has been endless conjecture, the שופר, ShVPhR, shoh-phahr, and the חצצרה, ChTsTsRH, or KhTzTzRH, an unmouthable combination written chatz, khaatz, or ghatzoh-tz'vah.

Early Jews might have been able to make pronounceable and meaning words out of these literal combinations, but to the uninitiated they must have been as unintelligible as the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

When the Seventy at Alexandria sat down to convert the Hebrew Bible into Greek, they soon encountered (Gen. iv, 21) the names of two musical instruments for which it was necessary to find equivalents in Greek. The Hebrew letters were KNVR and UGB. For these they chose the names of two well-known Greek instruments, psalterion and kithara, both, according to Greek lexicographers, stringed instruments. In Job xxi, 12, the same translators use the same terms for the same Hebrew words, but a little farther on, Job xxx, 31, they substitute kithara for KNVR, and for UGB, psalmos. Out of the same UGB, in the 150th Psalm, they make organon! Is this a precious confounding of terms through carelessness, ignorance, or indifference? or were the psaltery, kithara, psalmist, and organ similar instruments or the same at Alexandria, and their names consequently interchangeable? The KiN-NOR is usually rendered by the LXX. kithara; Latin Vulgate, cithara; *Anglicè*, harp. NeBeL is generally rendered psaltery, once by psalmos, once by kithara. Whether NeBeL is a Hebrew word Grecized to nabla, or a foreign word Hebraized, is a point in dispute with scholars.

In Kings and Chronicles we have the names of these two favorite stringed instruments transliterated, and read kinura and nabla in numerous passages.

It is thus evident that great uncertainty pervaded the minds of Jewish interpreters of their own national writings two thousand years ago. Much is left to conjecture, and still more is veiled in blank obscurity. This haze may be thinned, but in no instance entirely cleared away, by two or three considerations. The first is, that the instruments in use in the Orient to-day are essentially those used by the peoples who inhabited the same territory thirty or forty centuries ago, by reason of the unchangeableness of the manners and habits of the sluggish and stationary East, which uses the same household utensils, clothing, and implements of war, navigation, and husbandry that were employed by their ancestors in by-gone centuries.

Again, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Roman monuments give the

forms of musical instruments in vogue among the nations they conquered, and some of these are undoubtedly Jewish. Finally, cognate living dialects suggest similarity of former things with the present by similarity of names of the old with things now existing.

The Psalms, as the national song-service book, naturally contain the most frequent allusions to song and its instrumental accompaniments. Their titles, mostly unresolvable because forgotten, seem to have reference to musical settings, notation, or execution. The incomprehensible SLH, the mysterious "Se-LaH" which the old divines used to read from the pulpit with such devout and solemn unction, is shrewdly suspected to have been some sort of musical direction. The historical notices of music found in the state chronicles are here substituted by fervent hortations to praise Jehovah with every power of voice, wind, and string! To these repositories of pretty much all that may be known on the subject we turn with eager interest. We scan, in the parallelisms, the rows of black, backward-reading characters, whose heavy strokes are horizontal and light ones vertical, quite the reverse of Roman capitals, and would fain implore them to yield up their hidden intent and meaning. In vain—they are dumb as Sphinxes!

It would be some gratification if the Septuagint and Vulgate maintained consistency in interpretation, even if that interpretation were traditional or conjectural. But these uncritical guides vary from word to word and phrase to phrase as if truth and fixity were matters of no consequence. Translators of the Scriptures into modern tongues had no occasion to seem wiser than those who were two thousand years nearer the fountain-head of knowledge than themselves, and so they have usually followed Septuagint and Vulgate, inconsistencies and all.

Five hundred years ago it was the self-imposed task of the learned, versatile, and voluminous Wiclif to introduce English readers to a knowledge of the Bible by translating it into the vulgar tongue. When he met with musical instruments he sought equivalents in those in use in his own day. It would not answer the purpose of faithful and conscientious rendering to confound a drum with a fife, or a flute with a fiddle. He must determine by the best lights at command whether a given Hebrew word indicated a wind, stringed, or pulsatile instrument,

and then match it by some well-known equivalent in use among the common people in his own day.

A hundred verses deep in Genesis, the bold Oxford polemic struck the still enigmatical UGB, translated in three different ways by the Seventy. What could he do better than to follow the Vulgate and write organ, suggesting to English ears a wind instrument of some kind? What the organ was, as Wiclif knew it, may be learned from Chaucer's

> "Merrie organ
> On masse days, that is in the churches going."

For Wiclif's "harp and orgon"—the "harpe and orgun" of Purvey, his colleague and reviser—the Jerusalem Chamber has substituted harp and pipe. The word organ disappears from the new Bible, and will not be found in future Crudens. Have the revisers improved the old version here, either in phrase or idea? They, of course, give up Donegan and adopt Eschenburgh in making the Greek *οργανον* a wind and not a stringed instrument. They adopt, also, the favorite idea of expositors, that Moses intended to say that Jubal was the progenitor of all such as, generically speaking, "play upon the harp and the organs," as the Douay Bible felicitously puts the passage. But why "harp and pipe?" There is no instrument in existence that goes by the name "pipe." The harp is a collection of strings, the organ a collection of pipes. If it was needful to do away with the word organ, because it suggests the majestic instrument now in use, instead of the seven-piped syrinx of the Mosaic age, why not the word harp also, that figures to the fancy the ponderous modern instrument, a load for a strong man's shoulders, instead of the little three or seven-stringed triangle carried about by minstrels on their starring tours in the days of Homer and Job? If a generic idea was sought, string and pipe, or strings and pipes, would have been preferable to the adopted change. The American Delegates' version in Chinese, Tang K'ing and Choi Sien, play lutes and blow flutes, better maintains the generic idea.

That the Alexandrian Seventy's ideas of an organ were not our ideas is evident from Psalm cxxxvii, in which, instead of "hanged our harps upon the willows," both the Septuagint and Vulgate make the sorrowing Babylonish captives say: "We

hanged our organs upon the willows," rather a cumbersome load for the pliant osiers, and suggesting to the slightest reflection that the kinnor was a small instrument as easy to suspend as it was for the plaining grievers for sable Uncle Ned to

"Hang up the fiddle and the bow"

when merriment had changed to mourning for the plantation Wineawski.

Of the one hundred alterations in verses that speak of musical instruments in the last revision, the great majority are verbal, syntactical, trivial, and, so far as instruments are concerned, of little practical importance. As specimens we may note Exod. xix, 16, where "the trumpet" is changed to "a trumpet;" in verse 19 the words "sounded long" are omitted; in chapter xviii, verse 20, "noise" is changed to "voice." In Judg. vii, 20, Gideon's "lamps" are turned to "torches." In 1 Sam. x, 5, the word "tabret" is substituted by "timbrel," which suggests the inquiry why the same change was not made wherever the word tabret occurs; or why, indeed, the obsolete timbrel and tabor were not both, like organ, struck out of the future concordance, and the word drum, or, still better, tambourine, substituted wherever toph appears in the original—about a dozen and a half places.

In 2 Sam. vi, 5, the Hebrew word מנענעים, mistranslated cornets by English versionists, both in the Douay and Authorized Version, following the Greek *αυλοις*, instead of the Latin *sistra*, is properly replaced and thoroughly modernized by the very intelligible word "castanets," understood by every child, from plantation to palace.

As a specimen of intelligent and consistent work by translators look at שלשים, 1 Sam. xviii, 6, in the Greek *κυμβαλοις*, Latin *sistris*, Douay "cornets," Authorized Version "instruments of music," or (margin) "three-stringed instruments." Revised, the same, with the additional marginal comment "triangles." Bagster's Hebrew Lexicon "a harp with three strings!"

In 1 Chron. xv, 20, "psalteries on Alamoth" is changed to "psalteries set to Alamoth," as if the latter was any more intelligible than the former!

In Psalm lv, and elsewhere, the incomprehensible neginoth

is made into "stringed instruments," intelligible, but indefinite; according to the lexicons, the word should be defined songs rather than instruments.

Psaltery and Harp.

The nebel and kinnor were, no doubt, as clearly distinguished from each other in the mind of the Hebrew as the harp and guitar are in our minds to-day; and yet, as we have seen, they are frequently interchanged by translators. The word "nebel" is usually translated by psaltery, but, as an example of fluttering interpretation, we note that in Isaiah and Amos, between Septuagint, Vulgate, Douay Version, Authorized Version, and Revised, this single triliteral word, NBL, is credited with being psaltery, lyre, organ, harp, viol, lute! The word viol, as the name of a family of stringed instruments, is intelligible to the modern mind. The psaltery is obsolete, both the name and that which the name represented, in the days when Chaucer wrote,

> "And above there lay a gay psalt'ry,
> On which he made at nights melody,
> So sweetly that all the chamber rang;
> As *angelus ad virginem* he sang;"

and again, in the same tale,

> "taketh his psaltery
> And playeth fast, and make the melody."

What whim possessed the revisers to substitute lute, another antique of Chaucer's day, for the sensible Authorized Version's viol in Isaiah v, 12, and leave in the word viol elsewhere in the same prophet and in Amos? A better thing would have been to use some such well-known word as viol, guitar, or banjo wherever the antique and unintelligible word psaltery occurs. Intelligibleness is desirable, and especially consistency. The timbrel, with its world of poetic meaning since Tom Moore wrote,

> "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea,"

has come up, run its course, and died out since Chaucer. The substitution of lute for viol in a single passage is as freaky as would have been the use of nahker for timbrel, gittern for cithern, rebeck or ribible for viol! So long as the Book of Psalms shall be known by the venerable name psalter, probably

psaltery will suggest accompaniment, especially when we read of it in Psalms xxxiii, xcii, and cxlix as the (or an)

INSTRUMENT OF TEN STRINGS.

Hebrew: Nebel-asor or gah-sohr.
Greek: Ψαλτηριῳ δεκαχορδῳ.
Vulgate: Psalterio decem chordarum.
Douay: Psaltery, the instrument of ten strings.
Authorized: Psaltery *and* an instrument of ten strings.
Prayer-Book: Lute and instrument of ten strings.
Noyes: Ten-stringed psaltery.
Revised: Psaltery of ten strings.
So read versions of Psalm xxxiii.
In Psalm cxliv, 9:
Douay: Psaltery and an instrument of ten strings.
Prayer Book: Ten-stringed lute.
In Psalm xcii the Hebrew throws us anew upon conjecture by reading,

"Upon the asor and upon the nebel,"

which seems to divorce the asor from the nebel, said divorce being ignored by Septuagint, Vulgate, and Douay, yet recognized as separate by the Authorized Version, Noyes, and the Revised; emphasized and expanded in the Prayer Book to an "instrument of ten strings" and the "lute," with the further addition of a "loud instrument" made out of higaion, ᾠδῆς, and cantico!

The sackbut and dulcimer of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii, 5) are left standing in the revised text. The dulcimer, as we know it, is a stringed instrument, and yet the new margin writes "bag-pipe." With a like eye to intelligibility, it should have substituted for sackbut "trombone."

HEBREW WIND INSTRUMENTS.

The chief of these were trumpets of two kinds, שופר, shophar, and חצרה, chatsohtsrah, which were doubtless as clearly distinguished in the minds of the historians and poets who named them in their writings as are the trumpet and cornet in our minds to-day; nevertheless, the Septuagintists create the usual muddle by their evident uncertainty in the use of terms in translation.

We try to get some glimpse of the difference between these once well-known instruments by noting the uses to which each was put on the occasions on which it was employed, yet with indifferent success. It was the shophar that "sounded long and waxed louder and louder" out of the thick cloud, charged with lightning and thunders, in which God descended upon Sinai. Exod. xix, 16, 19.

The silver trumpets that assembled the people at the tabernacle, blew the signals for journeying, alarms in war, and ushered in solemn times and sacrifices, were the khatzotzerah described in Num. x, 2–10.

Gideon at Mount Gilead and Joshua at Jericho both used the shophars. The hundred and twenty trumpets that formed the "brass" of the orchestra at the dedication of the temple were khatzotzerah. 2 Chron. v, 12. Prophets and psalmists, with few exceptions, write of the shophar, which appears some seventy-five times, while its evidently less used rival appears but twenty-five.

Why the Alexandrian semi-Greek Hebrews were so uncertain and indefinite about the character of instruments used by their ancestors some centuries before is rather remarkable. Words and things get out of fashion, and then out of memory, even in the sluggish East. The ignorance of these Orientals two thousand years ago finds parallel and apology in the fact that of twenty instruments named by Chaucer in fifty places in his breezy writings five hundred years ago, from one half to two thirds are obsolete now, names and forms and styles of use alike forgotten. We recognize the fiddle, the harp, the flute, the horn, the pipe, the trumpet, the organ, but who has any thing more than an indifferent idea, if he has any idea at all, of the form and power of the psaltery, shawm, dulcet, cithern, citole, gittern, naker, clarion, ribible, rebeck, lute, symphony, bema, cornemuse?

Besides being confounded or made alternates, the two Hebrew trumps pass into Greek most frequently in the name of the favorite wind instrument of that nation, the brazen-throated salpinx, that led Grecian hosts to battle and victory; the "last trump" of the New Testament writers that is to wake the dead and call the nations to judgment. The shophar, however, is not always salpinx. It is once transliterated and made

σωφερ, in 1 Chron. xv, 28. It becomes keratina, a species of horn, in half a dozen other places.

The Vulgate applies the names of the two chief Latin trumpets, buccina or bucina and tuba, to either form of the Hebrew with confusing indiscriminateness. With half a dozen exceptions the English versions give the name trumpet to both. Where the two words come together, as in Psa. xcviii, 6, they must be distinguished, and we have, what we should have had all through, trumpet and cornet, as in Hosea v, 8:

> "Blow ye the cornet (שופר) in Gibeah,
> And the trumpet (חצרה) in Ramah.

It is with a feeling akin to disgust that we open Smith's Dictionary at the article "Trumpet," and find ourselves referred to cornet as the more appropriate rendering for shophar and its fellow tube.

The cornet is a forgotten wind instrument, replaced by the hautboy a century ago, only remotely related to the pistoned cornet that figures in bands and churches to-day.

In popular estimate the trumpet is the noblest of the family of portable wind instruments, associated with the highest exhibits of worship, war, and triumph. The revisers would have conveyed a more lucid idea of several passages of Old Testament poetry and history to have exchanged cornet for clarion or bugle. The utter untranslatableness of the Hebrew has a curious illustration in the frantic efforts of both Septuagint and Vulgate to get out the full import of חצרות וקול and שופר הריעו in Psalm xcviii, rendered in Greek σάλπιγξιν ἐλαταὶς and σάλπιγγος κερατίνης, and in Latin, tubio ductilibus [trombones?] and tubæ corneæ! voiced, Sunday after Sunday,

> "With trumpets also and shawms,"

by reverent thousands who worship the Church of England prayer-book, and would think it profanation to exchange venerable sound for intelligible sense by substituting clarion for Geoffrey Chaucer's obsolete "shawmies."

It is matter of regret that the revisers allowed the fearfully misleading translation "rams' horns" to stand in the sixth chapter of Joshua. There are no "rams' horns" in the Hebrew text, none in the Greek, none in the Latin. The fifth verse only has בקרן היובל, Keren-ha-Yobil, the jubilee horn, but there

is nothing to indicate that it was the horn of a ram or an ox or a he-goat. The fourth verse has the jubile-shophars, which the Septuagint renders jubile-horns, and the Vulgate the buccinas (ox-horns) used in the jubilee. The German Bible has posannen des halljahrs, jubile-trump; Douay, "trumpets of the jubilee." Why should the Protestant English version alone perpetuate a standing theme for infidel jocosity by preserving a rendering at once false and undignified? Bishop Patrick says in his comments: "Rams' horns not being hollow, trumpets could not be made of them." Adam Clarke says, "the Hebrew word yobelim does not signify ram's horns, nor do any of the ancient versions, except the Chaldee, give it this meaning."

Whedon's Commentary would read, "seven trumpets of alarms." Bochart objects to the horns of rams that they would make but "sorry trumpets." The original keren was doubtless an actual horn, in the primitive state of society. The name horn remained after the instrument had been made of boxwood, brass, and other metals, just as the English horn today is made of tin, brass, or composition. It would be childish to argue that the pretty refrain found in Virgil's eighth eclogue,

"Incipe, Menalios mecum, mea tibia, versus,"

should be read, "Begin with me, my sheep-shank, the sweet Menalian strains," because the original flute or pipe, in barbaric days, was made of a shin-bone! It would have been a stride in advance if the revisers had taken the same liberty with the sixth of Joshua that they have done with the twenty-fifth of Leviticus, where, in opposition to the remonstrances of the American delegates, they have substituted jubile for jubilee, in their anxiety for more strict transliteration, which, as they were about to banish a naturalized Hebrew word from the Bible, and introduce a new word into the English dictionary, they might have made a nearer approximation to the original by writing Yobel, Yobil, or Yoh-rehl.

Charles Wesley's stirring hymn,

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow,"

is destroyed, if the rhythm of the refrain is to be henceforth,

"The year of jubile is come."

It would be interesting to trace the occasions on which the old Hebrews used musical instruments from the days of Laban, with his "tabret, pipe, and harp," to the days when Jesus took notice that the children of Jerusalem cried to each other in the streets, "We have piped, but you have not danced," and when the returning prodigal was welcomed to his father's house "with music and dancing." Our limits will not permit.

The most cursory reading of the records will show how intimately instrumental music was associated with the social, and above all the religious, life of the ancient Hebrews. Use and abuse are both faithfully recorded. When the youthful Saul, on his way to kingship, fell among the prophets, they were prophesying, that is, preaching, or chanting religious verse—Asiatic fashion—to the accompaniment of psaltery, tabret, pipe, harp; all known styles of instrumentation in use in that day. Thirty years later the shepherd boy David, chosen of God to be Saul's successor, appears upon the scene with a harp in his hand, destined, within the succeeding half-century, to develop not only into the first lyrist of his own people, but to take a first place among the poets of the world. As this prince-poet, in the progress of a long and stormy life, wrought his own experiences and those of his nation into rhythm and song, the music grew as the verse grew.

The lyric implied the lyre, the psaltery was the necessary adjunct of the psalm. In David's mind they were inseparable, as they are inseparable in the mind of every true poet to this day. The hallel hymns required a grand Gilmore jubilee massing of voice and orchestral accompaniment for their expression, and David made ample provision for that expression. He brought the consecrated ark out of its obscurity to its resting-place in the city of David "with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." "He and all Israel played before God with all their might, with singing, with harps, with psalteries, with timbrels, with cymbals, with trumpets." Forbidden to build the temple himself, he provided every material for his successor, and among other provisions, caused the appointment of "singers with instruments of music, psalteries, and harps, and cymbals." The Levites, by royal direction, made Heman, the Theodore Thomas of the land, with a suitable staff of lieutenants who distributed the scores and "cymbals of brass" to the

skilled performers, psalteries to others, harps to another set, and trumpets to those who could blow, and wound up the assignment of parts with a grand rehearsal of selections from the 105th, 96th, and 106th Psalms, sung and played with all vim on what King James's Version calls the "musical instruments of God;" according to the Douay Version, "all kinds of musical instruments to sing praises to God;" in the new version, "instruments for the songs of God;" a change that will calm the perturbed ghost of Adam Clarke, and allow his bones to rest easy in their grave. This is one of the numerous passages in which the learned commentator vents his inveterate hostility to instrumental music in the worship of God. "It does not appear" to the sturdy Presbyterio-Irish Methodist annotator, "that God specially appointed singers, much less musical instruments, to be employed in his service." "Musical instruments may please theater-goers, but they tend to corrupt the worship of God. Can pipes and strings give praise to God?" "Four thousand praised the Lord with instruments" at the last verge of David's life, "a distribution," says Clarke, "made according to his own judgment, and without divine authority; and as to his instruments of music, they are condemned by the prophet Amos." "An immense parade of noise and show." "Cymbals, psalteries, harps, and a hundred and twenty trumpets or horns could not produce much harmony; as to melody, that must have been impossible, the noise was too great." God ordained the praise, and David ordained the instruments. "Away with such portentous baubles!" "Will modern instrumentalists pretend to prophetic influence, with their play-house aggregate of fiddles and flutes, bass viols and bassoons, clarinets and kettle-drums? Away with such trumpery and pollution from the worship and Church of Christ!"

The abuse of instruments Clarke makes an argument against their use. In Isaiah's time the harp, the viol, the tabret, and pipe were found in the wine revels of the saloonists, as well as in the house of God. To backslidden Israel God said, through Amos, I hate your hypocritical feasts, empty solemn assemblies, the noise of your songs, and the melody of your viols. You are at ease in Zion, wrapped in luxury and effeminacy, feasting and sleeping, chanting to the sound of the viol, and "have thought yourselves to have instruments of music like David,"

says the Douay. Says Lowth: "The variety of music, such as David appropriated to the service of God, they continued for their own diversion." This incidental poetical allusion to a historical fact Clarke makes the foundation of solemn reproof, with the intimation of the divine disapproval of instruments, at the same time involving David in all the burning condemnation lavished upon the idolatrous Israelites. If David's offense were so heinous, why did not the blind Amos reprove it directly instead of foisting in implied condemnation by way of incidental poetical allusion, and why are all the prophets, major and minor, during all the centuries, silent upon the subject? That God did not disapprove of instrumental accompaniment is abundantly proved in the description of the dedication of the temple, in a passage which Clarke glosses with one of his least dignified sneers (2 Chron. v, 11–14): "And it came to pass, . . . that when the singers, with their cymbals and psalteries and harps, and with them one hundred and twenty trumpeters, were as one, to make one sound in praising and thanking the Lord; when they lifted up their voice, with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, it was *then* that the house was filled with a cloud, so that the priests could not stand to minister at the altar; *then* that the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God."

Clarke belonged to that class of reformers who see no mode of curing the evils that connect themselves with every good thing under the sun, except by reforming the thing itself out of existence. They are doctors who would cut off the patient's head to cure the headache. Like my ancient Auburn friend, Clarke never forgave David for an impertinence which, he assumed, on the slightest possible grounds, the kind Jehovah obligingly permitted but never condoned.

The negative fact of the absence of any allusion to instruments in the New Testament, while the Christians were worshiping in private houses and on river-banks, is no more proof that Christ and the apostles disapproved of them, than is the absence of any positive statement about infant baptism, or the change from the Jewish to the Christian Sabbath, any proof that these things did not take place. There is music-deafness as well as color-blindness; not only insensibility to "concord of sweet sounds," but inability to perceive any difference between

a clash of musical chords and the clangor of brass warming-pans, crockery, or shovel and tongs.

Men are divided into sects by ear-drums as well as by theological opinions. Children and rustics having thick tympanums, screech and halloo to each other when they talk, and listen with their mouths open. The strong-lunged frontier preachers reached classes of persons who were unaffected by the dulcet voice of the genteel preacher described by Cowper.

Musically, men are divided into Hamitic, Shemitic, and Japhetic. The Hamitics affect the pulsatile style, and drum and dance; the Shemitics, simple melody; in the Japhetics, taste and intellect predominate over passion. Architecture and harmony become possible. The huge cathedral demanded and called into existence the huge organ, the realization of David's fancy, but never reached by his four thousand singers and his hundred and twenty silver trumpets.

Nearly all the organs in England are modern, because the Puritans demolished the instruments when they converted gothic churches into horse-stables. Yet Milton was an organist and Cromwell fond of the organ. It was Milton, the Puritan, that wrote of the gothic cathedral:

> "There let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full-voiced quire below,
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may, with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstacies,
> And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

This is no place for an essay on the sphere of instrumentation. Confucius said: "It is not the sound of instruments that constitutes music. Bells and drums are not all that is meant by music." These are the accompaniments of voice, subordinate to voice, fitted to occasion and song.

Clarke quotes Wesley as saying he had no objection to organs in his chapels provided they were neither seen nor heard. His main objection was not to the instruments or their use, but to the expense, and above all to their want of adaptation to the Shemitic stripe of humanity that his out-door preaching reached. Education brought the organs, and no one could enjoy them more than the man who never missed a chance to hear one of Handel's oratorios, and who would be,

if alive to-day, delighted with one of Theodore Thomas's grand classical musical festivals. He was a musical critic of the first order. At the Exeter Cathedral, 1762, he says: "Such an organ I never saw or heard before, so large, so beautiful, so finely toned. The music of 'Glory be to God in the highest' I think exceeded the 'Messiah' itself."

In 1782 he assisted at a communion service in Macclesfield, and says: "While we were administering I heard a low, soft, solemn sound just like that of a golden harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many that they could not refrain from tears. It then gradually died away. Strange that no other organist should think of this. In 1781, at Manchester, he records: "After preaching I went to the new church, and found an uncommon blessing at a time when I least of all expected it, namely, while the organist was playing a voluntary."

Charles Wesley was a poet, his wife a harpsichordist—what we would call in these days a pianist—the only difference between the harpsichord and piano being that the strings of the former were snapped by quills, while those of the latter are struck by hammers. With a father who thought in numbers and rhyme, and a musical mother, it is not strange that two of the sons should have been born musicians and players from the days of high chair and petticoats; nor any more strange that both should have become organists second to none in Great Britain. Methodist chapels were no places for organists, and one gravitated to the Church of England, and the younger to the Church of Rome, "seduced by the music of the Gregorian chants." Before he was thirty he threw off the yoke of popery, and lived long enough to enrapture Mendelssohn with his wonderful powers on the organ.

The simple hymnody of Methodism may be effectively sung with or without instrumental accompaniment, and yet the tendency of all song to dependence on its instrumental ally is clearly evinced in the almost universal introduction of instruments into the house, the school, the Sunday-school, the church. The orchestra is as yet driven by popular estimate to the concert room and theater. The boxed-up orchestra, the organ, is not portable, and has no profane associations. The church is its home, its appearance is religiously majestic, its tones full

of the solemn grandeur that befits its location and its uses. The prose version, the chant, and the organ are the only medium for giving true expression to the psalms, which have dropped out of their place in many forms of modern Protestant worship altogether. Wesley is not the only Methodist by many thousands that has experienced "an uncommon blessing when he had least expected it, namely, while the organist was playing a voluntary."

The opposition of certain sectaries to the proper and judicious use of musical instruments in the Church of God is insensate for at least three reasons: First, the human larynx and ear are as verily instruments as any other, whether pipe, drum, or telephone receiver. Secondly, all known styles of instruments were used by God's people of old—if not by divine direction, at least by divine sanction. Thirdly, musical instruments will certainly be used in heaven. John stood at the open door and "heard the voice of harpers, harping with their harps;" and they are at it still, harping, harping, harping ever with the "HARPS OF GOD."

ART. V. — AN EPISODE IN NEW YORK METHODIST HISTORY.

A STRANGER in New York city, during or soon after the year 1820, wishing to find a Methodist house of worship on a Sabbath morning, might have been directed to a building on Chrystie Street, between Hester and Pump (now Canal) Streets. Here he would find a plain brick edifice, of moderate but not diminutive size, simple and neat, externally and internally, with a fair congregation having an unmistakably Methodist appearance in respect to the apparel of the worshipers, and also the seating of the men and women on opposite sides of the house. The services would be in harmony with the usages of the Methodist churches of the city at that period—lively and earnest rather than artistic singing, fervent prayers with frequent and audible responses, and a sermon made up of plain, fervent, and effective presentations of the Gospel, with pointed applications and warm exhortation. Perhaps some remark

would be made, with an allusion which the stranger would not at once understand—something about "lording over God's heritage," and such coupling of terms as "arrogant bishops" and "overbearing presiding elders." Still, quite possibly, nothing would occur to arouse any suspicion that he was not in a regular Methodist Episcopal church, unless he should look at the imprint of the hymn-book, politely handed to him, which would tell him that the book was "A Selection of Hymns for Worship. Printed for and sold by W. M. Stilwell, No. 108 Chrystie Street, New York."

If now his awakened curiosity should lead him to inquire further, he would find that he had been worshiping with "The Methodist Society," who were also called Stilwellites, after the name of their minister. If he examined further into the case, and inquired how they differed from other Methodists, and why they were different in kind or character, his new-found friends would have told him a story of oppressions, feared or fancied, and of the departure of the mother Church from the simplicity of old-fashioned Methodism. If later he became acquainted with some of the regular Methodists of the city, he would hear quite another version of the affair. The scene and events we have thus referred to belong to the beginnings of probably the most considerable division that ever occurred among the Methodists of New York and vicinity, with the inevitable accompanying strifes and alienations between those who had hitherto been fast friends. Some of the facts and details, gathered from out-of-the-way sources, it is proposed now to spread before our readers.

Though the secession which resulted in the formation of the "Methodist Society" took place in the year 1820, the beginning of the dissatisfaction that then culminated can be traced back to the earliest times of New York Methodism. John Street Church was founded as an independent society, and its government continued to be congregational, in respect to its temporalities, until near the close of the century, and some traces of its original character continued for thirty years longer. Mr. Asbury's attachment to and zeal for Mr. Wesley's methods of administration were not a little scandalized by this self-assertion of the trustees as the chosen representatives of the membership of the church. Their finances were not

managed as he wished. In his journal of Friday, September 11, 1772, he wrote: "I met the people in the morning to discourse with them about their temporal matters, and appointed Mr. C. [Chave] to take an account of the weekly and quarterly collections. But the other two stewards refused an exact entry of the money that is not settled." The "Old Book" of accounts, from which Dr. Wakeley obtained most of the materials for his "Lost Chapters Recovered," contains entries of receipts and expenditures for all kinds of church expenses, mingled together. There are payments for interest on the society's debts, and for the preachers' board and clothing; for beds and bedding for the dwelling-house; for lamps and oil for the church; for sexton's wages, and the traveling expenses of the preachers. On the other hand, receipts for public collections and for class collections follow each other without discrimination. And this order of things was continued till nearly 1820, at which date there were in the city six congregations, with each its house of worship, all held and managed, as to their finances, by one Board of Trustees, who were incorporated by the laws of the State.

This unusual state of things in Methodist economy was the occasion of no little friction in the administration, and efforts were made from time to time to secure a more satisfactory arrangement. At a General Leaders' Meeting (in which the trustees seem to have had seats), held at the Bowery (Forsyth Street) Church, October 13, 1813, a paper was read containing series of questions, one of which was, "(4) Whose duty is it, agreeable to our Discipline and the laws of this State, to pay the salaries and provide for the maintenance and support of our stationed ministers and their respective families?" To this the trustees answered: "The Discipline directs that the stewards on circuits shall pay the preachers; but this being a station, and an incorporated body, that rule does not apply to us, and the law of the State makes it the duty of the trustees to pay the salaries and provide for the maintenance of the preachers." This answer of the trustees was declared to be satisfactory by the meeting, without dissent.*

Rev. Ebenezer Washburn, who was preacher in charge in New York in 1815, says: "There were at that time no church

* From a book, in manuscript, containing the Minutes of the General Leaders' Meeting, from May 8, 1811, to Feb. —, 1823.—S. A. S.

stewards in the city; the Board of Trustees received all the moneys raised by the church, and held all the property belonging to the church in trust, and paid the preachers out of the money raised for that purpose." *

This state of things continued until the beginning of Rev. Aaron Hunt's second term of service in the city, 1819. He says: "One body of trustees transacted all the financial business of the societies [so the churches were then called], receiving the class collections from the leaders, and distributing the same to pay the preachers." † During his administration as senior preacher, and not long before the Stilwellite movement took form, as will be seen in the sequel, a Board of Stewards was set in operation for the whole city, which continued in existence down to 1835. In the meantime two Methodist Episcopal churches had been organized (the First Wesley Chapel, in Vestry street, now the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Second Wesley Chapel, in Mulberry Street, now St. Paul's), which were entirely separate and distinct bodies as to both their financial and temporal affairs from the formerly existing associated Methodist churches of the city. About this time the several local churches began to ask to be set off with their property, and made distinct ecclesiastical bodies, which process was completed within a few years.

The concentration of the governing power, and especially the administration of the finances, of so many distinct congregations in a single board, and that simply a legal corporation, while it may have had its advantages, was especially liable to be misused, and was very sure to occasion not only lack of interest, but also distrust and ill feelings. The receipts and expenditures of each of the several local churches were sure to be criticised by the others. John Street Church naturally claimed a kind of metropolitan preeminence, which her younger sisters were not inclined to concede. As all the property was held by a single Board of Trustees, all extraordinary expenses, either for new buildings or extensive repairs, had to be paid from the common treasury, while the several churches were not disposed to contribute liberally for expenses in which, as congregations, they had no direct interest. To meet the growing demands for

* See Washburn's Narrative, "Christian Advocate," April 12, 1843.

† Papers of Rev. Aaron Hunt, in hands of A. S. Hunt, D.D.

church accommodations, the trustees were compelled to incur large debts; and it is said that their proportions of this indebtedness assumed by the several local Boards of Trustees, at the time of the dissolution of the old arrangement, was not much less than the value of their property.

As early as 1810, Bishop Asbury, having preached in the original John Street Church, wrote in his journal: "This is the thirty-ninth year I have officiated within these walls. . . . This house must come down, and something larger and better occupy its place." It was, however, nearly ten years before the episcopal mandate was fulfilled, and then not without strenuous opposition from some of the uptown churches. The new edifice and its appointments were somewhat better than had before been seen in any of the Methodist "chapels" in the city, and these elicited not a little unfavorable criticism, and it was especially and emphatically objected that the carpet on the floor of the altar was a serious departure from the primitive simplicity of Methodism. These discontents became a not inconsiderable factor in the disruption with which the name of Mr. Stilwell is associated.

About this time there was some uneasiness all through the denomination in respect to the authority of the trustees of the Church to exclude the regularly appointed ministers from their churches and pulpits, which some Boards of Trustees claimed the right to do, and perhaps, in a very few cases, attempted to enforce. Preposterous as such a claim may now appear, it occasioned no little agitation at the time, and led to certain cautionary legislation in the General Conference, and corresponding measures in the Annual Conferences, to guard against what was assumed to be a peril that might become fatal to the itinerancy. And now the note of alarm was raised by the disaffected, that the preachers were seeking to gain control of all the property, and that they were having the churches deeded to the Conferences—a *canard* that required half a century for its effectual removal. Of this state of feeling the Stilwellites availed themselves to the utmost, reiterating and exaggerating the complaint wherever they could obtain a hearing.

In the introduction to the first edition of the Discipline of the "Methodist Society," in justifying their conduct in going out from the Methodist Episcopal Church, they say: "The

clergy formed a Discipline without consulting the laity, and took the government of the Church upon themselves, which they retain to this day; although the people have frequently petitioned the Conference for a lay representation, they have not yet obtained it, and from recent acts of the Conferences it will appear as if, instead of the clergy being willing to have their power diminished, they wish to have it increased."—Page 12.

In the "Historical Sketches of the Rise and Progress of the Methodist Society in the City of New York" are these further statements: "We were not of those who reiterated their complaints in memorials and petitions to the General Conference without effect for a lay representation in that body, . . . nor did we complain of having preachers stationed among us without our advice or consent, nor of contributing to their support, nor of supporting presiding elders, whom we consider worse than useless, until those preachers pretended to have jurisdiction over the temporal as well as spiritual concerns of the Church, and to act accordingly. But we first began to remonstrate against the procedure of the trustees, when, with a heavy debt on the church, and a suit in chancery undetermined, they resolved to take down the old meeting-house in John Street and build a new one, and another at the Bowery Village (now Seventh Street). We objected because we thought the commencement premature, and because, from the disposition of the leading men in the Board of Trustees at this time, we were afraid that they would build too expensively, and the event proved that our fears were not groundless. . . . The debt was increased to more than $30,000. . . . When the term expired for which those trustees were elected, who were considered the most forward in unnecessary expenses, other persons were elected in their places, who it was confidently believed and expected would conduct the affairs of the church with better economy. The prudent, plain part of the society began to think of devising some means of decreasing the expenses of the church, and instituting a sinking fund for paying the debt. . . . Tranquillity, it was hoped, was now restored, and the prospect began to brighten. But this was of short duration, for soon those who had been the cause of increasing the debt began to call select meetings for the purpose, it was said, of altering the mode of nominating and electing trustees.

The preachers and others were very active in encouraging and attending these meetings. In the meantime the following letter was written [probably by Mr. Samuel Stilwell, the author of the pamphlet from which these extracts are made] and addressed to a person who had been appointed a member of a committee [by whom it does not appear] on this subject [only a single sentence can be given]: 'The trustees have resolved not to make any further provision for the preachers, after the rising of the Annual Conference in June next, than that which they are allowed in the Discipline, which is the quarterly collections and the privilege of making collections in the classes." * This letter is dated April 10, 1820, before the session of the General Conference, and therefore without reference to any action of that body.

At the Conference of 1819, Rev. Aaron Hunt was appointed to New York as preacher in charge. He had served in the city some thirteen years before, and was very generally held in high estimation, and it was hoped that he would be able to guide affairs through any present or prospective difficulties. Even the malcontents declared their purpose to promote peace and harmony, and a brighter day appeared to be dawning. But when, a few months later, an election for trustees was held, and the candidates of the up-town party were chosen, the down-town brethren proposed not to take up class collections. Mr. Hunt advised them to continue their regular contributions, depositing the money with some trusty person till stewards should be appointed, which was done according to the provisions of the Discipline a short time afterward. At the next official meeting the newly elected stewards were present, and also the trustees. The preacher in charge read the Discipline relating to the duties of stewards and trustees severally, and directed the stewards to be seated at the table to receive the money from the leaders. A trustee seated at the same table received what was paid to them—for apparently some of the leaders refused to respect the order to pay their money to the stewards—but the amount so diverted was very small. This the trustees offered to pass over to the stewards, provided they would give them (the trustees) a receipt for the whole amount received.

* From a pamphlet, entitled "Historical Sketches of the Rise and Progress of the Methodist Society in New York," pp. 12–17.

The preacher again called attention to the Discipline, as to duties and functions of stewards, saying that as Methodists this is our rule. A leader answered that he did not care what the Discipline said, we shall act according to the law, referring to the chartered authority of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Hunt replied by demanding the class-book of the recalcitrant leader, adding, "If you do not care for the Discipline, you are not a fit person to be a leader."

Soon after this a paper was sent to the preacher, signed by about thirty names, requesting certificates of withdrawal from the Church. This was declined by Mr. Hunt, who earnestly besought the applicants to reconsider the subject, but told them that if they persisted he would, though not immediately, write the word "Withdrawn" opposite their names on the Church records. Most of them persisted in their purpose, and before long their number was swelled to nearly 300.

The most considerable man among the seceders—who was no doubt the leading spirit in the whole movement—was Samuel Stilwell, a native of the town of Jamaica (L. I.), born October 22, 1763. It was said, and believed by some, that his paternal ancestor who came first to this country was a member of the "High Court of Commission," which tried and condemned King Charles. Perhaps some strain of the rebel blood rioted in the veins of his remote descendant. He became a resident of New York city in 1778, and was occupied successively in a variety of mercantile pursuits. At one time he owned a large farm on the Bloomingdale Road, a large share of whose area is now included in the Central Park; but finding his residence too far out of town, he removed into the city and resided on the Bowery near Bayard Street. In 1799 he was appointed Assessor of the Second Division of the State, and the same year was elected a member of the State Assembly. In 1803 he was commissioned City Surveyor, and in that office was associated with De Witt Clinton, in the preliminary surveys that resulted in the checker-board arrangement of the streets, for the whole of the then unoccupied portion of Manhattan Island.

Rev. William M. Stilwell, the nephew of Samuel, was admitted to New York Conference on trial in 1814, and served successively on Albany, Newburg, and Delaware Circuits, and in 1819 was placed in charge of "Zion" and "Asbury," two

churches of colored people in New York city. The uncle having become thoroughly disaffected toward his former Church relations, persuaded his nephew to cast in his lot with the "come-outers," and by doing so he became the ministerial leader of the secession. It does not appear that any other traveling preacher become identified with the movement. Rev. Seth Crowell was then a located minister, very infirm, and more than half demented, and he was thought to sympathize with the movement, but he never formally united with it, and in 1824 he was readmitted to the Conference, and died two years later. Lorenzo Dow sought and received recognition as a member of the new organization, but never took any part in its affairs. Rev. James Covel, M.D. (whose two sons, Samuel and James, became traveling ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church), Rev. Mr. Miller, of Rochester, and Rev. George Phillips are named among the followers of the "exodus," but all these appear to have been local (or located) preachers. Of prominent laymen there were besides Mr. Samuel Stilwell, Messrs. Taylor, Higgins, Sherman, De Camp, Sutton, and Miller, men of good reputation and abilities, and of fair social standing.

After the General Conference of 1820, and the session of the New York Conference that immediately followed it, at both of which aggressive measures were inaugurated, the antagonism of the parties became more intense, and the division that had become inevitable was very soon precipitated. In July following, a meeting of the separatists was held, and a rough draft of articles of association was made and adopted, to serve as a bond of union till a better organization could be prepared.* A school-room was hired in Chrystie Street for a place of wor-

* Articles of Association.—I. The Bible will be their rule of discipline. II. Each member, male and female, shall have a vote in the choice of preachers, and the allowance to be made for their services. III. Disputes or disagreements between members to be settled by three, five, or seven members of the society, as may be agreed upon. If the dispute is between men, it shall be left to men to settle; if between women, to be left to women. IV. Persons to be tried for transgressing against the good order of the society shall have the fairest opportunity possible of obtaining an impartial jury. V. The members will all be classed in classes of about twenty members each, and will be met once a week by a leader of their own choice. VI. The members, having equal rights, may form such rules for regulating and promoting the good of the society as may be thought expedient by a majority of the members.

ship, and there, on the 16th of July, Rev. W. M. Stilwell preached, and afterward declared his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his adhesion to the "Methodist Society." He also invited those who wished to join the "Society" to come forward and they would be received. About one hundred accepted the invitation, and in a short time the number was increased to nearly three hundred. Measures were at once adopted to secure the needed legal incorporation, and so the new craft was fairly launched.* Larger accommodations for the public services became necessary, and measures were very soon taken for securing a suitable church edifice. Ground was purchased (probably by Mr. S. Stilwell) on Chrystie Street, and a brick building, fifty by seventy-eight feet in dimensions, with a basement story, was erected, which was dedicated on the last day of the same year. During the next year the number of members, including probationers, rose to about six hundred. Two additional places of worship were opened, one on Sullivan Street, which grew into a well-established church; a regular form of discipline was adopted, and at the close of the year 1825, the body numbered not less than eight hundred members. The question of congregational independence or connectional unity, with an itinerant ministry, now began to be agitated. The church in Chrystie Street declared itself independent, and chose Mr. Stilwell as its minister, which action separated him and his church from the new organization; but the Sullivan Street Church, now grown to large proportions, with a suitable house of worship, became a kind of metropolitan center for the new and actively aggressive "Society."† The churches and circuits of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the regions about New York shared in the excitement caused by these movements in the city. No doubt active efforts for increasing such

* On the 8th of August (1820) George Taylor, Jr., Michael D. Higgins, Edward Sturman, Morris De Camp, Daniel Sutton, and Richard Miller were elected trustees, and on the next day the certificate of incorporation was recorded, with the name of "The Methodist Society in the City of New York."

† Afterward, the "Methodist Society," including the Sullivan Street Church, became incorporated with the "Methodist Protestants," and in 1839 a new and much more commodious church was built. In 1846 this church, its members and property, passed over to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is now the Washington Square Church in Fourth Street.

excitements were not wanting, and within the years already indicated secessions and reorganizations had taken place on Long Island, in Connecticut, and in most of the towns along the Hudson River.

It is known that the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church of dividing the body territorially into Annual Conferences was practiced by the Stilwellites almost from the beginning, but our utmost diligence has not sufficed to discover any list of such bodies, or of their proceedings. But in a small monthly pamphlet which Mr. Stilwell published for several years, "The Friendly Visitor," in the number for November, 1825, there is a brief notice of the session of their New York Conference for that year, at which twenty-eight ministers and twenty-nine laymen were present, at which eight deacons and four elders were ordained. It was reported that there had been a considerable increase of members "in spite of severe difficulties," making a total of 2,177, with two Conferences and several local "societies" not heard from. Another Conference, named "Connecticut," including all the "societies" in New England, was set off at that time and appointed to meet the next year in Bridgeport. The non-reporting Conferences appear to have been called "Rochester" and "Cincinnati." In their Discipline, Articles of Faith, and general methods, except in respect to offices and work of bishops and presiding elders, the new organization agreed very generally with the old. Some of the points in which they differed have since been practically adopted, slightly adapted and reduced to practice by the latter; and there are some among us who think still others of them deserve a respectful consideration. In its methods the "Society" was intensely democratic. Each member, men and women alike, had a voice in choosing a preacher and in fixing his "allowance." All the officers of the body were elected by general suffrage, and the temporal affairs, except the minutest details, were to be determined by the society meeting. The court of appeals, for reviewing all judicial proceedings, consisted of all the male members over twenty-one years old, and the "committee of examination," the only court of original jurisdiction except the society itself convened in "monthly conference," were selected by lot. In some cases it was permitted that women might be tried by a committee of their own sex. The

quarterly meetings were composed of a number of neighooring classes, at which a Quarterly Conference was held composed of all the official members present, to grant licenses, hear appeals, and, if thought expedient, to appoint one or more delegates to the Annual Conference.

When the "Radical" controversy at Baltimore, Pittsburg, and other places arose, with its larger proportions and abler leadership, the dissentients of whom we are now writing very naturally sympathized with the movement; and when the Methodist Protestant Church became fairly organized and in action, the larger and abler body quite naturally absorbed the lesser, and so the "Methodist Society of New York City," as a separate Church organization, disappeared.

Under their new and changed relations as integral parts of the Methodist Protestant Church, the churches that had constituted the "Methodist Societies," in and about New York, continued for some years to operate with a fair amount of energy and success. A church was established in the eastern part of the city, now the Wesley Chapel in Attorney Street, owned and operated by the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society, and another in Williamsburg, the Eastern District of Brooklyn. But, while in some other places that organization has maintained a fair share of vitality, and is a recognized factor in the local social and religious system, its course in New York has been one of uninterrupted decadence. Indeed, it would seem that there is something in the Methodist atmosphere of the city that renders it especially unfavorable to all forms of dissent.

Mr. Stilwell's independent body continued to occupy the building in Chrystie Street, with a membership of about three hundred, till 1847, when a church was erected on First Street, near First Avenue, on ground owned by Mr. Samuel Stilwell, into which the Chrystie Street society removed; and here the Rev. William M. Stilwell passed the last years of his ministry, in absolute ecclesiastical independence, and with autocratic authority in the government of his church. He died in 1851, and his church died with him. It is well known that in his later years he became satisfied that the enterprise in which he had engaged for reforming the economy of Methodism, by seceding from the regular Church organization, could

not succeed, and probably he found those whom he had led out of the Church even less congenial associates than those whom he had left. His own children became members of the mother Church; and when his church was about to be dissolved it is said that he recommended them to find a home in the Methdist Episcopal Church.* In the City Directory for 1885–86, there is not named a single Methodist place of worship for white people except those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the three or four colored Methodist churches in the city, one, and that by no means the least considerable, is of the same denomination. This "Episode in New York Methodist History," which began with the "Stilwellite secessions," is now complete. It had its beginning, its progress, its culmination, its decay, and its ultimate extinction. It was, no doubt, harmful to some of those who engaged in it—for that is almost inevitably the case with church controversies—but it may have been not wholly unproductive of good to the Church at large, to the laity as well as to the ministry, as a provoked protest against undue assumption of power on the one hand, and against attempts to suppress such things by governing with too strong a hand on the other. The case is especially instructive in re pect to the unwisdom of seeking the reform of supposed abuses or the correction of infelicities in the affairs of the Church by going out from its communion. The actors in the affairs of which we have written have nearly all passed away. They were not perfect, either in mind or heart, but for the most part they were good and well-meaning people. *Requiescat in pace.*

* Mr. Stilwell is described as a man of about middle size, rather stout and of ruddy countenance, with blue eyes and auburn hair. As a public speaker, his manner was easy, his voice and delivery good, and his preaching was at once pleasing and impressive. During his few years of service in the New York Conference he had become well and favorably known for one of his age; had he remained he would probably have attained to a high position in the Church.

Art. VI.—A CURIOUS CHRISTOLOGICAL SPECULATION.

The question, What think you of Christ? has not received its final answer, nor will it be set at rest so long as mysteries shall continue to have the power to fascinate. The mystery of the incarnation is at once undeniable and inexplicable. No one, not blind through ignorance, or else blinded by perverse prejudice, can fail to recognize the mysterious character of Christ's person; and to explore that mystery as far as is possible to human intelligence has been the occupation of the most acute minds—both devout and undevout—in all ages. To all who accept the fact of a real incarnation, and assent to the declaration of the apostle that in him (Christ) dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead—not simply as an inspiration but *personally*—nothing is more natural than the mind's spontaneous effort to form a conception of the modes of the co-existence of the two natures which were united in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

It would seem to be not at all allowable to entertain the idea that the divine Word was, in any thing essential, either modified or conditioned by his union with the human nature of the Son of Mary; but it was not so, as he was contemplated by finite intelligences. The babe of Bethlehem was declared by the angel to be "a Saviour, Christ the Lord," so intimating that the Godhead was present in him from the beginning, and even before his birth there was a recognition of his divinity, for he was spoken of as "that holy, the Son of God." It is also manifest that the growth and development of Christ's humanity—the mind as well as the physical body—were entirely normal—not forced out of the usual courses of biological action. At first having only animal instincts, he at length attained to self-consciousness, like other children. His thirty years at Nazareth have only a human history, though we may suspect that, whether or not recognized by himself, he was subject to the impulses of the indwelling Godhead. At what point in his history he came to recognize his own divine nature cannot be positively stated, though there is great plausibility in the notion that it occurred at his baptism—that there, for the first time, his divine and his human consciousnesses came together,

and the man of Nazareth began to know himself as the Lord from heaven. Accepting, then, the recognized doctrine of the Church respecting Christ's complex nature—that he was very God and very man in one person—thoughtful believers, in meditating upon that great mystery, have sought to form for themselves, as far as possible, some rational conception of the mode of the subsistence of the divinity in the person of Christ. A single phase of these conceptions and speculations, as entertained and pursued by some of the most acute theologians of the day, now calls for our notice.

In Dr. Schaff's recently published volume, entitled "Christ and Christianity," noticed at length in a former issue of the *Review*, he introduces some account of a feature of Christological thought known as "the Kenosis," which, though not entirely new, has not until recently figured largely in doctrinal discussions. The name by which it is designated is simply the Greek word κένωσις (*kenosis* written in Roman letters), the substantive noun corresponding with the verb ἐκένωσιν, used, in Phil. ii, 7, to express the condescension of the divine Logos in taking upon himself our nature. That word and its object, ἑαυτον, are, it is known, in our English Bible, rendered "made himself of no reputation;" but in the margin, and also in the Revised Version, it is translated "he emptied himself," which is agreeable to the proper meaning of the word in both classical and in New Testament Greek. The doctrinal theory called "the Kenosis" rests especially upon this one passage, which is taken to mean that, in becoming man, the divine Son of God really and actually "emptied himself" of his Godhead in order to redeem sinful men, among whom he appeared as a servant, and also and eminently to glorify the Father's grace, and, as an ultimate result, to secure his own infinite and eternal exaltation in his incarnate person. And this doctrine, it is claimed by its advocates, is taught, both expressly and by implication, in many other places. The Greek verb κενόω signifies, primarily, *I empty;* but secondarily, *I make empty, expend*, and figuratively, *make of no effect;* and accordingly the words ἑαυτὸν ἐκένοσεν (Phil. ii, 7), while literally signifying "emptied himself," is, in our Authorized Version, not infelicitously, half-translated and half-interpreted, *made himself of no reputation*. The subject of this transaction was the pre-existent Logos, of

whom St. John declares, "the Word was God," and that he "was made flesh." In that act, says Bishop Lightfoot, "he divested himself, not of his divine nature, for that was impossible, but of the glories and the prerogatives of Deity. This he did by taking on him the form of a servant. The emphatic position of ἑαυτὸν (himself) at the beginning of the sentence points to the humiliation of our Lord as voluntary—self-imposed."

"The Kenosis" is not a new doctrine, though it has recently been formulated anew, but it may perhaps be found in substance among the speculations of some of the Fathers. It is claimed that Tertullian teaches it when he says, "God can change himself into every thing, and yet remain (in substance) what he is;" but Hilary seems especially careful to guard the subject against going too far when saying, "The form of God and the form of a servant can indeed not unqualifiedly become a unity, they rather exclude one another as such. . . . He that hath emptied himself, and taken upon himself the form of a servant, is not therefore a different person. *To give up a form does not imply the destruction of its substance.* Exactly in order to prevent this destruction, the act of self-emptying goes only far enough to constitute the form of a servant." In its present form the doctrine is certainly modern, and peculiar to Protestant theology. It seems to have been first suggested by Count Zinzendorf, but much less as an intellectual speculation than as a kind of dreamy and devout sentimentalism. In our times it has been developed into a system by certain distinguished continental divines, among them Gess, Von Hoffmann, Kahnis, and Delitzsch (Lutherans), and among the Reformed, Lange, Ebrard, Godet, and Pressensé. In this country it has been broached by Professor H. M. Goodwin and Dr. Howard Crosby. Perhaps Dr. Bushnell, and certainly Rev. H. W. Beecher, should find a place in the same class.

Some of these carry their speculations much further than did their predecessors, and argue that Christ while on earth not only ceased to use his proper divinity, but that he effectually divested himself of all the peculiar attributes of the Godhead, and actually merged the divinity in the humanity. Their theory, says Dr. Schaff, "is, that Christ literally emptied himself, not only of the divine glory and of his divine mode of existence, but also of his divine being, and [as to his divinity]

assumed the condition of a human being, subject to the conditions of space and time, and to the laws of development and growth." Because it is said that Christ in his humiliation "emptied himself," it is inferred that in some way he became divested of his own proper and eternal Godhead, so reversing the old Lutheran maxim that in Christ the divinity imparted itself to the humanity, and teaching that in him the humanity stifled and neutralized the Godhead. "In becoming incarnate" (so Dr. Schaff further describes this theory, which, however, he does not accept) "the Second Person of the Trinity reduced himself to the limitations of humanity. He emptied himself, not only of the divine glory and of his divine mode of existence, but also of his divine being, and assumed the condition of a truly human being. . . . He ceased to be omnipotent and omnipresent and become ignorant and helpless as a child." As stated by Von Hoffmann the theory is that "he ceased to be God in order to become man."

The declaration that Christ was (before his incarnation) in the form of God, certainly expresses more than an outward or apparent likeness—really his image, ἐικών, his substance, personally manifested. Not this oneness of substance with the Father, it has usually been held, but the attendant glory, was laid aside, veiled, in his humanity. And if St. Paul may be allowed to interpret his own meaning in the clause under notice, it would seem that what he says in another place (2 Cor. viii, 9) concerning Christ, "that he was rich, yet . . . he became poor," sufficiently shows that *voluntary impoverishment*, and not *self-annihilation*, is intended, certainly not the transubstantiation of the substance of the eternal Godhead into that of the race of Adam.

Among the distinguished divines who have accepted and illustrated the theory of Kenosis there exist very considerable discrepancies of views. Thomasius and Liebner at first held that the divine Logos was to Christ instead of a rational human soul; but later they abandoned that position and assumed that he was truly human, and that although the Godhead dwelt in him, still it was entirely inactive. Gess predicated of the indwelling Godhead in Christ a complete negation of both consciousness and will, and both he and Ebrard, in the further development of their theory, assumed an actual transformation of the Logos into a human soul, so that Christ was "born of a

woman" only as to his body, of which the indwelling Logos, reduced to the measure of a human soul, became the rational part. That would, of course, destroy the bond of sympathy between Christ and mankind, arising out of a community of race-natures. (Heb. ii, 17.) The late Bishop Martensen, of Copenhagen, approaches the subject carefully; but before leaving it he develops a theory of Christology quite as fanciful and as far removed from the traditional conception as any of his school. In his view Christ had only a human consciousness and a human will, and his knowledge of the things of God were to him only recollections of his former state. Kahnis and Lange seem to make Christ's act of emptying himself simply the voluntary disuse of his divine attributes—a perpetual self-abnegation of divinity during the term of his natural life. Julius Müller—*nomen venerabile!*—is known to have held views strongly looking toward this form of Christology, though but little of the kind appears in any thing written by him and published by his authority. But one of his students has reproduced from his own notes of Müller's lectures on Dogmatics a paragraph which effectually identifies him with the "Kenosis" school. His words are:

> Paul contrasts the earthly and pre-earthly existence of the Son of God as poverty and riches (2 Cor. viii, 9), and represents the incarnation as an emptying himself of the full possession of the divine mode of existence. (Phil. ii, 6, 7.) This implies more than a mere assumption of human nature into union with the Son of God: the incarnation is a real self-exinanition, and a renunciation, not only of the use, but also of the divine attributes and powers. . . . The Church is undoubtedly right in teaching a real union of the divine and human natures in Christ. But in the state of humiliation this unison was at first only potential and concealed, and the unfolded reality belongs to the state of exaltation.

Dr. Crosby seems to base his opinions respecting Christ's person on the teachings of Scripture, and in agreement with the prevalent orthodox views in respect to Christ's relation to us as an example, especially in the matter of temptation. For if Christ was really and effectually divine, he asks, how could he be "tempted at all points as we are," since then he must have been sustained by his divinity, as we are not? He finds that Christ's Godhead is abundantly declared in *words*,

but not so in the *facts* of his life; and, therefore, he concludes that the Godhead was in a state of "quiescence"—that it submitted to a sort of paralysis—until the resurrection, after which the divine overshadowed the human.

Dr. Goodwin takes up the notion that has found advocates all along through the Christian ages as a kind of unformulated conception, that Christ's human nature antedated the incarnation—that he was, in fact, the antetypal man who was before all worlds, and after whose image Adam was created—a conception which, fanciful as it certainly is, has been entertained by some very acute thinkers. This he somehow identifies with the Logos of St. John, which was made flesh in the Son of Mary—taking the place in him of the human soul. The incarnation, according to this conception, is not the coming together of two distinct natures in one person, but the development of the divine in the form of the human, in which process that which had been divine became human, and in that condition the peculiar attributes of the divine were for the time being obscured and suspended, because the development during Christ's earthly sojourn was not complete.

The notion that that which in time became the incarnate Christ was at once human and yet older than the ages, has found favor with some of the Tübingen school, as may be seen in Professor Pfleiderer's Hibbert Lectures, noticed in our last September issue. And quite consistently with their scheme none of these acute scholars recognize any thing properly divine in Christ's person.

Some of the modern mystics—Behman, Oetinger, Barclay—exhibit a theory agreeing with this in its chief features. They speak, in their characteristically uncertain way, of the ideal man—Jesus, who was one with the Word of God from eternity, after whom Adam was created, and with him the human race; and accordingly, when the Word became flesh, he literally came to his own. According to their scheme the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Logos antedates all time, and the appearance of the historical Christ in the world was simply the manifestation of what had existed from eternity. Using the highly poetical imagery of the eighth chapter of Proverbs as statements of realities, they find in it, by an easy accommodation, a frame-work for their whole

theory. The fanciful character of that theory is obvious to all who prefer intelligent thinking to mystical dreaming.

Like these, and yet unlike them, was the scheme of Dr. Bushnell, whose conception of Christ's person was that of a supernatural being other than God, and yet essentially superhuman and in some sense divine, being so united with God that the divine attributes were manifested in and by him. But he also quite consistently disallowed any proper trinity of persons in the Godhead, and was therefore logically compelled to deny any real or personal divinity to Christ.

In his "Life of Jesus the Christ" (begun, but still incomplete) Rev. H. W. Beecher develops a theory of Christ's person not essentially unlike that which has received the title of "the Kenosis," with perhaps a dash of pantheism. He asserts that "Jesus was God" but "made flesh," and then proceeds to say:

> The simplest rendering of these words would seem to be that the divine Spirit had enveloped himself with the human body, and in that condition been subjected to the indispensable limitations of material laws. . . . Jesus, a divine person, brought his nature into the human body, and was subject to all its laws. . . . There is no hint of joining the human soul to the divine. . . . He (the divinity) veiled his royalty; he folded back, as it were, within himself those ineffable powers which belonged to him as a free spirit in heaven. He went into captivity to himself, wrapping in weakness and fearfulness his divine energies. . . . When clothed with a human body and made subject through that body to physical laws, he was then a man, of the same moral faculties as man—of the same mental nature—subject to precisely the same trials and temptations, only without the weakness of sin. A human soul is not something other and different from the divine soul. . . . God in our place becomes human.

This whole theory, though various in its details as given by different writers, is essentially the same in all its aspects. It comes to us, however, with the disadvantages of being out of harmony with the whole current of the best theological thinking from the earliest times. The orthodox doctrine of Christ's person was settled after a most thorough examination, and as the outcome of very fierce conflicts, during the fourth and fifth centuries, much less by the decrees of councils than by the solid arguments of Athanasius and his coadjutors; and no assaults from its adversaries have ever made any breach in the ramparts in which they intrenched it.

The lack of direct scriptural support of "the Kenosis," except from a single overstrained passage, is a less formidable objection than its irreconcilable disharmony with the whole accepted system of soteriology. Its initial weakness is its implication, in assuming that Christ's spiritual nature was not generated of the seed of Adam, that his kinship with our race was only through the animal nature, while of that relationship his adaptation to the work given him to do is especially presumed. It also assumes, not only that in this incarnation the essential attributes of the Godhead were laid aside, but also that the divine essence was changed into another and different substance, and that for the time of Christ's sojourn among men the eternal Logos ceased to be divine. It also assumes, by logical implication, that the attributes of God are simply accidents, and not of the very essence of his being. To ordinary readers, and also to many of the most critical and scholarly, the New Testament has seemed to teach that, while bearing the form of a servant, Christ was still the Lord of glory—that he so spake of himself, and was so recognized and proclaimed by the Father. The Christian consciousness of the ages was correctly apprehended by Milton, and happily voiced by him in his fragmentary poem on "The Passion," when he wrote:

> "He, Sovereign Priest, stooping his regal head,
> . . . . . .
> Poor fleshly tabernacle entered—
> O, what a *mask* was there—what a disguise!"

Dr. Schaff, while dealing very gently with the many able, devout, and evangelical divines who accept in some form, more or less modified, the scheme of "the Kenosis," remarking also that the discussion "furnishes a striking illustration of the inexhaustible mine of thought contained in the Scriptures," disposes of the whole affair by a few direct and forcible objections: 1. The Scripture proofs chiefly relied upon for its proof either come short of the purpose or are wholly irrelevant. 2. The self-reduction and self-abandonment of divinity to an unconscious embryonic existence involves a metaphysical impossibility and a moral monstrosity, and it is wholly incompatible with the doctrine of the Trinity.

Dr. Hodge, after examining the principal Kenotic theories, closes with the suggestion, which is as just as it is earnest:

Any theory which assumes that God lays aside his omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, and becomes feeble, ignorant, and circumscribed as an infant, *contradicts the first principles of all religion*, and, if it is pardonable to say so, shocks the common sense of men.*

Dr. Pope discusses this department of Christology, both historically and dogmatically, and says of this and of a kindred conception :

In the beginning of the seventeenth century a controversy on this subject sprang up in Lutheranism. One party maintained that the humiliation of Christ was the hiding of the divine attributes which, in his human estate, he possessed ; this idea of κρυψις, or concealment, gave them their name of *Kryptists*. Another party affirmed that there was an actual κένωσις, or emptying himself of the divine attributes which belonged to the human nature in virtue of the hypostatical union ; hence they were *Kenotists*. The former view invested Jesus, as man, with omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence from the moment of the conception ; but this possession was veiled during the earthly life, and avowed only after the ascension. The latter regarded him as having the κτῆσις, or possession, of those attributes from his birth, but utterly renouncing their χρῆσις, or use, until he was glorified. The former view, held by the Tübingen theologians, made the ascension the first display of Christ's divine attributes in humanity; the latter view, held by the Giessen theologians, made it the first resumption of them. †

Still another and a more scriptural presentation of the case is quoted from Gerhardt:

Not a part to a part, but the entire Logos was united to the entire flesh [humanity], and the entire flesh was united to the entire Logos ; therefore, on account of the hypostatic union and intercommunion of the two natures, the Logos is so present to the flesh, and the flesh so present to the Logos, that neither is the Logos *extra carnem*, nor the flesh *extra Logon ;* but wherever the Logos is, there it has the flesh most present, as having been assumed into the unity of the person.

The study of these speculations, and of the theories to which they give rise, is practically valuable, as showing by their lack of any well-grounded support and their manifest fancifulness that the plain language of Scripture is the nearest possible explanation of the mystery of the incarnation.

* "Systematic Theology," ii, 439. † "Christian Theology," ii, 193.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

(Reprinted from the "Homiletic Review," with permission.)

Two questions meet us as we approach this subject: (1) Are the present methods for the education of ministers satisfactory? and (2) How may they be improved?

The first of these questions assumes that there are certain established and well-understood methods for educating the requisite recruits for the Protestant pulpits of the country; which, however, is only proximately the case. Of the three or four thousands of annual accessions to that service, probably scarcely one thousand pass through a regular course of professional training; nor does it seem desirable that entrance to the ministry should be denied to all who have not been so trained. Probably, however, that question refers especially to the methods pursued in the theological seminaries, and if so it suggests a doubt in respect to the public estimate of those methods. It may also be suspected that, of even the religious public, only a comparatively few have ever seriously thought of the subject. The question, therefore, relates to the convictions or sentiments of those whose felt interest in the subject has led them to think about it, and to come to certain definite conclusions.

It is safe to begin with the concession that with the great body of even moderately intelligent church members our schools of theology do not stand out as nearly the foremost among the Church's agencies for the salvation of the world. Theological students are not, as a class or in their proper persons, considered by the great body of Christian people as the chief hope of the Church of the future. There may be somewhat of injustice in this estimate, and its accompanying sentiment, toward a class of persons in respect to whom the interests of the Church must be of no secondary magnitude; but since it exists, it must have a cause, and to find out what that is, and how it may be remedied, would certainly be a valuable service.

Education for the ministry is, by its designation, determined to belong to the general class of *technical* training processes; and it is still more specifically defined as *professional*. In all cases that come under this designation the work to be done must determine what instruction should be given, and what should be the methods of mental and personal discipline. Applying that rule to what is found in practice in our theological schools, one may detect the causes of any dissatisfaction that may exist, and also, perhaps, suggest the needed remedies. All technical education is by its design more circumscribed and one-sided—less cyclopedic—than that of

the general college course, though it must go much further along its own special lines. Its purpose is not to promote general scholarship, nor to make scholars at all, in the broader sense; and even within its own specialty its first purpose is to produce practical adepts for the bringing to pass certain well-ascertained results. If biblical and theological scholarship be desirable, it is because it may be rendered available, and made to contribute to practical effectiveness in the work of the ministry. How and how far these studies should be pursued must therefore be determined by the supposed relations of these things to the great purposes for which the ministry exists; and whether or not this is now being done in a satisfactory way in our schools of theology, is a question that must be answered by a comparison of these principles with the facts of the case. The further question thus suggested will be answered by each one according to his estimate of the facts, and their bearings upon the whole subject of ministerial education.

The important subject of procuring an adequate supply of the right kind of candidates for the ministry, to be educated for that calling, though very closely and seriously related to the questions now in hand, does not fall directly within our field of vision. But a necessary, as well as a very difficult and delicate, duty of those who have the charge of our training schools for the ministry is, to find out and remove from their classes, even with some measure of severity, any who are, from either moral or mental deficiencies, clearly unfitted for their work. The ministerial profession has in some cases suffered in public estimation by having been made the retreat of incompetents; and even in our home churches the ministerial office appears to have special attractions for a class of incompetent and heartless adventurers. Even in the apostolic churches some such were detected, and their presence and pernicious influence indicated, and warnings uttered against them. The spirit of students should be carefully scanned by their instructors—who, if at all worthy of their places, are much more than simply teachers; and all who seem likely to become causes of offense and of future peril should be carefully removed; for no greater calamity can befall the Church than to be burdened with an incapable, and still more a morally disqualified, ministry. Possibly just here there may be cause for dissatisfaction on account of the lack of due carefulness, on the part of our theological faculties, as to the characters of their pupils, who, if passed safely through the seminary, will pretty surely succeed in gaining a place in the ministry.

The celebrated Rev. William Jay, of Bath, England, we are told, was sent, while yet a youth, to reside with Cornelius Winter, an Independent minister, who in his humble way was a kind of diocesan over several neighboring Dissenting congregations, and by him the young man was literally and practically apprenticed to the calling of a preacher. He was, indeed, set to reading during his intervals of respite from active duties, but all of his studies were to be pursued with direct reference to immediate use; and, as is well-known, his profiting appeared to all. This method prevailed very generally among English Dissenters till compars

atively recently, and it was certainly abundantly justified by its results. Mr. Wesley, by a like process, built up his lay ministry, comprising not a few men of decided ability and scholarship; and in our own times, that prince of preachers and of evangelistic propagandists, Mr. Spurgeon, is himself a product of the same system, in which he manifests his confidence by his large practical use of it.

The average minister of the Gospel is not required to be, in the specific sense, a scholar; and while a good degree of general intelligence is highly desirable, both for mental training and for religious teaching, yet all that is thus required stops short of proper scholarship. The two callings—those of the Christian pastor and of the theological and biblical scholar—are diverse as to their subjects and the qualifications they call for; and because both are exacting in their demands, and engrossing to the minds devoted to them, they are usually incompatible. And this consideration should be allowed due influence in the ordering of both the substance of teaching and the methods of preparing men for the ministry of the Gospel. The purpose is to prepare those under instruction for the pastoral work, to fit them to preach the plain and simple Gospel to congregations, most of which will usually be plain people; and even the better educated will need simple Gospel truth more than learned discussion, and elegant rhetoric. And since the Gospel minister must pass his time in intimate association with unscholarly people, though it is desirable that he should be more learned and better cultured than the average of them, he ought not to be too far removed from them in his modes of thinking and in his associations and tastes. It is evident, indeed, that only a small proportion of our better educated ministers ever become scholars, because they give themselves diligently to their official duties and choose to be faithful and effective ministers. And as they practically consent to do what they vowed to do when they assumed the work of the ministry—"laying aside the world and the flesh"—because they are men of *one work*, they become men of *one book*.

The popular sarcasm which says that it takes a young minister as many years as he spent in the seminary to get rid of the mannerisms of thought and speech and behavior there acquired, and to place himself in the plane with his people, though often unjust, may still contain an element of truth; and if so, the fault is not altogether their own, but largely that of their training.

Theological professors, too, are usually "bookish" men, rather than men of affairs in active sympathy with the great world of living and breathing thoughts and feelings; and of course, they unconsciously draw their pupils into their own atmosphere of life and thought, and reproduce in them their own mental and spiritual habitudes. They are also scholars inflamed with a noble enthusiasm for their special studies, and in proportion to their abilities as instructors they awaken a like enthusiasm among their pupils, and also initiate them into the first stages of scholarly life. But for all except the few who are to become specialists, these beginnings must go no further; for as soon as the young minister passes out-

ward through the door of the seminary, he must begin to disuse and practically unlearn a large proportion of what he had there acquired, because it will not be called for.

In the continental universities all the studies are special and largely professional, and both their theological and biblical learning is of a high grade, suitable only for specialists. With them the ideal of the ministry is, that it is a learned profession rather than a pastoral calling for the cure of souls. The condition of the State Church in Germany, and, to a modified extent in the British islands, attests the inadequacy and infelicity of these methods. The Roman Catholics proceed upon a wholly different theory. Their secular or working clergy are men of the people, and not very far removed from them in thought and associations, and their efficiency as pastors appears to be largely due to that fact. In like manner our Protestant congregations require "pastors and teachers" more than scholars, real or fictitious; and if our seminaries labor to give us only the latter kind rather than the former, they must assuredly fail of the most satisfactory results.

The Bible, it will be granted, is the principal text-book in all properly directed education for the ministry; and with most of those who compass the whole course of the schools, in their preparatory studies, the English Bible will still be their chief resource; while not a few who have read the word only in their vernacular have become mighty in the Scriptures. Still the study of the originals is not to be depreciated, though it may be doubted whether the prevailing methods are altogether felicitous. They seem to be quite too *microscopic* to answer the requirements of ordinary students. An undue amount of time and labor is devoted to minute details of grammar and literature, which may be well enough for the specialist, but of which only a few can make any practical use. New Testament exegesis is probably the very best matter of teaching and study for the minister of the Gospel; but to make this the most largely available it should be extended as nearly as may be over the whole book, instead of exhausting itself upon the details and minutiæ of a few brief paragraphs or chapters. But since the English Bible must be the minister's *vade mecum*—his constant companion and instructor—because out of it he must teach his people, it seems desirable that he should be most thoroughly and even critically read in the people's book; and in order that this may be so, the instructions of the seminary could be turned to excellent account in that direction. There can scarcely be a better qualification thought of for a Christian pastor than that his memory and his heart should be stored with the written word, in his own vernacular, clearly expounded and broadly appreciated. It may be suspected that neither the Sunday-school, nor the pulpit, nor the chair of biblical exegesis is doing all that is both desirable and practical in that direction.

Theological seminaries must of course teach theology—even beyond the merely non-systematized interpretation of Holy Scripture; but doing this is perilously liable to be carried too far. It is needful that Christian doctrine should be learned in its subject-matter before it shall be studied as

a rationalized system. It is better to find the theory of the Gospel among the teachings of the Bible than to fashion them after a preconceived theory, and so to build them up into artificial systems of doctrine. It might be for the better if our theological schools would give relatively more attention to the plainest and least elaborated lessons of Scripture, and less to their value as parts of an ideal unity; and to making catechetics, and not dogmatics, the chief method of teaching--setting forth biblical truth in its simplicity rather than giving out its essence after passing through the alembic of fallible minds. The former method is content to disclose the things stated in the Bible without polemical argumentation or philosophical generalizations; the latter, on the contrary, is systematic and theoretically harmonized with respect to certain fancied higher unities and the mutual dependence of parts; and it demands that Scripture itself shall be interpreted agreeably to its requirements. In this form theology is now chiefly taught, both in our Bodies of Divinity and Systems of Theology, and also from the Chairs of our theological instructors. But the thought of the age is asking for some better method, by which God's truth may stand forth in the clear light of the sun, and not be so presented that it can be seen only in prismatic colors, produced through the distorting medium of superannuated creeds and prescriptive misconceptions.

These suggestions are given as the notions of one who looks at the subject from the outside—of the preacher and pastor of former times—but who of late has occupied a place among hearers rather than preachers, and who therefore sympathizes with their tastes and sentiments; and, also, as a careful observer of the signs of the times, as indicated in current discussions, and from a somewhat intimate though non-professional relation to our schools of theology. While highly appreciating those schools, and largely sympathizing with their spirit, he has felt that their methods are not altogether satisfactory.

There is altogether too broad a chasm between the pulpit and the pews.

DANIEL CURRY.

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH—BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

It is conceded on all hands, that to speak well of the Bible, and to refer to it as the sole and sufficient guide in both faith and practice, is, among Protestants, the right thing to do. At the same time, it is not altogether impertinent to ask whether, in our day, the average educated man has ever really made himself master of the contents of the sacred books. A very general and indefinite notion respecting the substance of the Bible is almost universal among men, so that they talk in its phrases and use its lessons and precepts as maxims of wisdom and rules of action, but oftentimes with but little idea of their meaning as originally uttered. What Macaulay says about the use of Bacon and his works—that every body praises them but very few read them—may be applied with mitigations

to the Bible and the use made of it. To read the Bible through in course once a year, was, among our grandparents, a highly commended practice; and although this was usually done very unintelligently, and not always without a kind of fetichism, still a large amount of real good was gained in the process. But evidently that practice has fallen into disuse in our day, and it may be questioned whether there is now as much knowledge of the contents and the make-up of the Bible among the people generally as there was a hundred years ago. In some directions there may have been an increase of knowledge, but in others quite as certainly there has been a falling away.

It is of course expected that the minister of the Gospel shall be fully read up in all the Bible—indeed, "a man of one book;" and such, in some sense, no doubt most ministers are. But within this description and designation there is still room for wide diversities, of kinds as well as degrees, of biblical learning. The English Bible of King James's Version is almost absolutely the only Scripture of the English-speaking nations. They know no other, and all its words and phrases, not excluding the headings of chapters, and the subscriptions at the ends of the several books and epistles, are with many equally authoritative and divine. And although it may be presumed that any who professionally make the Bible their life study will penetrate deeper than the surface of its words, it is probably the case in a great majority of instances that the Anglicized Scriptures dominate and fashion both the intellectual conception and the spiritual inspiration of nearly all classes of English-speaking Christians. And in view of the prevailing defect of a thorough mastery of the finer thought, and the intangible spiritual essence of the sacred original, it is perhaps better that the really valuable and generally correct renderings of our English Version should be preferred to the imperfect and uncertain ones that would be made for themselves by nearly all our Greek and Hebrew scholars. The sacred originals will be used by commentators and exegetes, by professors in theological seminaries, and by a few earnest solitary students; but for the "working clergy," the men who come into contact with the masses of the people, and who shape the popular religious thinking, the Bible in English is the ruling text-book.

It must be quite obvious to any who will consider the subject, that Bible study, pure and simple, is not sufficiently emphasized, and does not hold the broad and foremost place in the religious teaching of the times, to which it is entitled. The home study of the Bible has largely fallen out of use, and the Sunday-school affords a very inadequate compensation for the loss. The exercises of the pulpit have largely ceased to be expository, and the Bible has been most effectually expelled from the public schools. Even the so-called religious academies and colleges use it, if at all, only very sparingly and perfunctorily. Nor is it so certain that no questions need be asked about it—that none of the graduates of our theological seminaries go forth into the world with only a very superficial and inadequate understanding of what the Bible is, and what it contains. It is a matter of comparatively little interest that the theological student and

prospective minister has learned the rudiments of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, and that he has been drilled upon certain of its select portions, if his biblical education is to go no further. To any just conception of its nature and design it is needful that the Bible should be apprehended in its unity, for only so can it be known in its entirety; and to know it in this wise, it must be first received in its essential and governing spirit. The thoughtful and devout study of the Bible in the originals, if that may be (for it has its advantages, but is not indispensable), continued through months and years, is the necessary and the certain means for gaining correct and thorough conceptions of its spirit and truth.

Biblical scholarship, broad and deep, is certainly very desirable in the Christian minister at all times, and perhaps especially so at this time. It may, however, be an open question, Which does the Church now most need for her ministry, scholars or pastors? It is also quite pertinent to inquire, whether these two characters do not largely exclude each the other? The biblical scholarship that shall respond to all the demands of that calling must be much more than an incidental pursuit, and the Christian pastor charged with the care of a congregation will find that between his preparations for the pulpit and his definitely pastoral duties he has but small opportunities for other studies and occupations. And yet in both departments of his duties as a minister of Christ, he will find abundant use for his biblical learning, that he may both detect and minister its spirit, and that the spirit, rightly directed and mightily enforced by the word of God, may dwell in his heart richly. And as in nature provisions are usually made as needs require, so in the divine ordering of the ministry of the Gospel only a very few can ever become eminent in scholarship, and yet these few will be all that is needed. And very many who never could become scholars may approve themselves as able ministers of the New Testament, furnished unto every good work, and to these rather than those must be accorded the higher honor, for while to gain knowledge is good, to save souls is better.

It is a fact, at once undeniable and lamentable, that the English Bible either never was, or has ceased to be, a school book. Its exclusion from the public schools was less a concession to a false Church than to the irreligious indifference of the so-called Protestant public; its restoration is prevented, not because of any insuperable difficulties, but because the demand for it, when made, is not in such a form as to justify itself. It is indeed a strange spectacle that a Christian people should carefully instruct its youth in the mythologies of Greece and Rome, and leave only to chance occasions the incomparably more excellent lessons of the divinely given Scriptures; and we do not hesitate to affirm, that the omission of the English Bible from the course of study of any Christian school is an anomaly and a contradiction for which there is no excuse. And even in the theological seminaries the study of the English Bible is desirable, both for the adaptation of its teachings to the minds of the learners, to whom that language is the habitual vehicle of thought, and also because through it

the lessons that they shall impart must find their utterance. In his study the scholarly minister may perhaps best feed his own mind and heart from the original text, but among his people, whose only speech is their English tongue, he needs to have his inmost spiritual thoughts embodied, incarnated, in the popular vernacular. After all that can be obtained from the sacred originals, and by the use of the best available exegetical helps, his English Bible must be the hand-book of the Christian pastor.

Christianity is sometimes, and pertinently, spoken of as an historical religion; so, in like manner, should the Bible be considered and estimated in relation to its history and literature; for only as these are taken into the account can it be properly understood and adequately appreciated. Verbal criticism and textual exegesis are valuable—essential, indeed, to the right use of the Scriptures; but they are often narrow in their application, with microscopic results, and if used alone they contract the mind's horizon and shorten its powers to grasp its themes in their completeness. The literary history of the Bible, and of its several books—the character and the affairs of the people among whom each originated—their civil and social institutions—the fauna and flora, the agriculture and the climatology of Bible lands, all need to be understood, that through them the lessons of the sacred word may be the better apprehended. And as Israel was a prophetic nation, and the theocracy a type of "the kingdom of God," and as in its latest stage the Jewish Church was the chrysalis in which the Christian Church received its form, to know these would seem to be indispensable to a right understanding of the genius of organic Christianity, and the development of its spirit in living forms. Biblical history, in all its varied developments, is only an extended introductory chapter of the history of the Christian Church. It is, therefore, a sign of promise that the broad field of *Biblical Introduction* is being more and more cultivated, and that this fruitful land is becoming so widely opened to English readers.

All true theology is in the first instance biblical, because it can set forth only what it finds in the written word. Systematic theology may have its value, as a form for the embodiment and setting forth of the substance of the truths and doctrines which the word declares; but were it possible, as perhaps it is not, that nothing of man's devising should find a place in such a system, it would still be only a human production because of the form into which it is cast. As the purest fluid appears to partake of the color of the vessel that contains it, so God's own truth is necessarily colored by its human settings and embodiments, its light is diffracted and the colorless whiteness of its simplicity is changed into greater apparent gorgeousness, but at the expense of its truthfulness and its illuminating power. The distinction between systematic and biblical theology may consist in forms of manifestations rather than in any real difference of substance, and yet the latter may have very many and great advantages over the former. Like the altars of unhewn stones which God ordained for Israel, the unpolished truths given to us in the Bible may be deficient in philosophical excellence; and as the structures made of those stones may

have seemed rough and unsymmetrical yet were the materials and the structure as God appointed them to be, so the theology of the Bible, without its schemes and theories, its philosophies and its organic completeness, even with its apparent deficiencies and the seeming disharmony of its parts, is quite sufficient for man's spiritual necessities.

As distinctive modes of stating Christian doctrines, it is helpful to right thinking to discriminate between these two methods. And although any embodiment of Christian truth in the form of systematic theology must be essentially biblical, and, on the other hand, though any intelligent grouping of biblical doctrines must constitute a system, and possibly show some of the elements of a theory, still, since it is possible to incline more or less toward either side, it seems safest to keep as near as may be to the plain words of the inspired volume. The Church has too long been vexed with its multiplied systems and theories, its theodicies and irenics, built up in part from the stones of the sanctuary, but joined together with untempered mortar of man's wisdom, and often fashioned to conform to men's inferences, or supplemented by men's fancies and philosophies. It has fallen to our times to discover that no form of words can be made effective to the exclusion of heresies, and to demonstrate that no fence about the truth invented by human ingenuity can effectually guard against the inroads of strange doctrines. Better, then, go back to the more sure words of divine truth, and whatever they may teach, believe that, without being overcareful that all that we so believe shall arrange its parts in symmetrical completeness. We shall probably never appreciate the ruling design of the great Architect until the scaffolding shall be removed from the edifice.

THE METHODIST DOCTRINE OF THE APPROPRIATION OF SALVATION.

It is not enough that God has formed a redemptive purpose with respect to our race, nor yet that Christ has atoned for our sins and provided eternal salvation for us. This salvation, in order to be such in truth, must be subjectively appropriated. Possible salvation is not enough: it must become personally actualized. The soul must be transformed from a sinful to a holy personality. Its opposition to God must be supplanted by love to him; its guilt and fear must give place to conscious divine approval, with all its attending fruits and joys. By whose agency is this part of the great work to be wrought?

Certainly not by human agency alone. Then would God's participation in the work of our redemption cease with the provision of salvation. Such a view would be inconsistent with the Scripture view of man's nature apart from the aids of God's gracious Spirit. According to that view, no man can come unto Christ without a divine drawing; none can even call Jesus the Lord but by the Holy Spirit. It would also conflict

with all those representations of Scripture which trace our awakening, regeneration, and sanctification to a divine inworking. Finally, it would conflict with the standing testimony of the Christian consciousness, which in all lands and ages bears witness to the truth of Christ's declaration: "Without me ye can do nothing."

But neither, on the other hand, is this work wrought by divine agency alone. This would make man a passive material to be transformed and recast by simple omnipotence. It would be inconsistent with all those warnings and entreaties addressed by God to man with respect to his salvation. Were it exclusively a divine work, there would be no place for such tears as Christ wept over Jerusalem; no propriety in such exhortations as that of the apostle to work out our salvation with fear and trembling. Human responsibility, so far as the issues of eternity are concerned, would be at an end. Such a conception is as much at variance with our own moral consciousness as with the word of God.

Again, we must not regard this great work as the product of a joint action of divine and human agency viewed as independent factors. God does not stand over against the natural man, and merely co-operate with him in precisely that degree in which the individual himself operates to secure salvation. This is the error of synergism—a much more common one than either of the two above rejected. It springs out of a false deistic conception of the relation of God to the creature, and of man as a moral agent. It predicates of man a natural and ethical independence which he does not possess; it ignores the fact that in God we live, and move, and have our being. A still grosser form of the error conceives of the work as interactional, and of the human agency as appropriately taking the lead. According to this view the man must first do something, then God will do something; then the man must do something more, then God will do something more; and thus, by a series of separate yet reciprocal acts, the work is gradually accomplished. First, man is to use his powers to ascertain duty and his own moral state, then God will work conviction. Upon this the man is to repent, then God will pardon him; then the pardoned is to lay hold of the proffered aids of grace, and these will work his purification.

A somewhat less offensive form of synergism is that which conceives of the work as a product, indeed, of an interaction of divine and human agency, but which represents the divine agency as taking the lead. According to this representation, God and man are conceived of as in very much the same attitude over against each other as before. The great difference is, that now it is God who first acts, then the man. First, God enlightens, then the man repents; next God regenerates, then the man believes; after this, with each new divine act of progressive sanctification, the man brings forth new fruits of holiness. Here, then, are three varieties of synergism. The first may be termed simultaneous synergism; the second and third are simply two forms of interactional synergism, differing only in the factor to which priority of action is assigned. All these varieties Methodism rejects as inconsistent with what the Bible teaches.

The doctrine of our Church on this point is, that while there is an exercise of human agency in the work of personally appropriating salvation, there is a precedent, attendant, and consequent exercise of divine agency. We conceive this to be true, not merely of the first inception of divine life in a human soul, but equally so of every new and marked development in that life. God first prepares us for spiritual experiences by operations prompted solely by his own grace and mercy, not by any thing we have done; then, having shown us our duty and privilege, he aids us by the simultaneous co-operation of grace in performing it, sealing, and in a sense rewarding, our effort with added blessings, which in turn are preparatory to new and more advanced experiences. This view alone corresponds with what we regard as the scriptural doctrine of man's actual free agency, as expressed in the eighth of our Articles of Religion: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us (*ut velimus*), that we may have a good will, and working with us (*dum volumus*), when we have that good will." This alone harmonizes with our view of divine grace as the source of all good desires, all spiritual strength, all holy experiences. It necessarily springs out of the scriptural conception of the relation subsisting between God and the human soul. According to this statement, "prevenient" grace awakens the sinner and prompts to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. It is in the power of the soul to reject these gracious drawings; but if it will only yield consent, it is graciously aided to repent and believe, whereupon "attendant" divine grace regenerates his nature, and "consequent" grace seals to his heart the blessings of pardon and adoption. The relation of divine and human operations is strictly analogous in all cases of recovery from partial or full backsliding, and in all new attainments in the normal development of the divine life.

It will be seen that this view includes all the elements of truth found in the three forms of synergism above presented.

With the second form of interactional synergism it teaches a prevenient exercise of divine agency antedating all spiritual action on the part of man. With simultaneous synergism it represents the human agency as never exerted alone, but as ever aided by an accompanying divine action; while with the first form of interactional synergism it shows grace succeeding and consummating the exercise of human agency by new divine operations.

This view of the relation subsisting between divine and human agency in the subjective appropriation of salvation, is the only one which effectually guards us from the grave errors to which every undue emphasizing either of the divine or of the human element logically leads. Give greater prominence to the divine element than is here given and the logical result is a divine monergism, which frees men from the sense of personal responsibility for their own salvation, and prepares the mind readily

to drink in the error of universal Restorationism. These results have been actualized, and that on a fearful scale, wherever, as in the strict Calvinistic and early Lutheran Churches, too exclusive stress has been laid upon the divine factor. Both these Churches in their first great Confessions, and even to this day in their strictly confessional bodies of divinity, teach that in conversion man is perfectly passive (*se habet mere passive. Formula Concordiæ*). Following this declaration of their Church creed, the great Lutheran divines, especially of the seventeenth century, were as monergistic in their doctrine of conversion as were the Calvinists. The fruits of the error became in due time manifest, on the one hand in widespread reactions in favor of some unscriptural form of synergism, on the other in the rise and spread of the restorationalist error. In like manner any undue stress upon the human element in the appropriation of salvation logically leads to a Pelagian anthropology, and a doctrine of salvation by the merit of good works. It was to exhibit the true adjustment of the two factors, and to point out the fatal consequences of their misadjustment by Calvinistic monergists on the one hand, and by Pharisaic moralists and synergists on the other, that Fletcher of Madeley wrote his masterful "Checks," the careful perusal of which may well be recommended to all students of Christian theology. See especially his Works (New York edition), vol. i, pp. 425–595; vol. ii, pp. 9–363; vol. iii, pp. 111–197. One can hardly wish our brethren in the camp of "Progressive Orthodoxy" a greater blessing than that a new Fletcher may soon be raised up in their midst. To a well-instructed Methodist their doctrine of the Holy Spirit, especially in His relations to the genetic stadia of God's kingdom in the soul and in humanity, seems at least a century behind the best thought and teaching of current Christian theology.

Boston, May, 1886. W. F. Warren.

CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT PROBLEM.

One of our leading religious newspapers a few months ago said, "We see little evidence as yet that our ministers are mastering the social problems which are daily increasing in importance;" and the same article closes with the warning, "But let our ministers beware of surface acquaintance with such subjects. Like dynamite, Socialism must be handled by men who know what they are about."

The ministry might easily retort upon the editorial fraternity, that the religious press (and scarcely more the secular) gives little evidence of having mastered the social problem. And now and then there is in editorial columns something very like to the handling of dynamite with unpracticed hands.

"It has come to pass," says Professor Ely, "that not one religious weekly of prominence understands these questions of labor well enough to talk to laborers satisfactorily about them."* But the matter is alto-

* "Andover Review," Feb., 1886, p. 155.

gether too serious for flippant answer, and the *tu quoque* retort is unsuited to so grave a subject.

The truth is, that in this social financial problem—and the social problem is financial—the editor and minister are alike facing one of the most difficult questions with which Christianity has ever grappled: a question which only Christianity can solve; a question which must be solved, or else Christianity and society must go down through the bloody pathway of anarchy to barbarism. We may well regard the editorial caution given above, against superficial or ignorant or careless dealing with the subject. Its roots are too deep for surface treatment. It involves too varied and too vital interests; and withal there is too much of inflammable material lying about. But on the other hand, it must be recognized that the financial problem is the next great question to be solved by modern, and what we term Christian, civilization. Perhaps we should say more correctly, that this question must be solved as the next step in the work of making modern civilization Christian.

The next giant to be conquered is avarice—a protean demon. Covetousness is the one sin—covetousness, which is idolatry—which the Church has never banned, the one crime which she has never punished. The possession of wealth has been so largely a power and an honor, that organized Christianity has hardly ventured to inquire how it was obtained, much less to condemn its possessor for its unjust acquisition.

Christianity has, as yet, scarcely touched the question of property. However much it may have modified society, meliorated the condition of the poor, or lifted up individual men, it has not asserted its mastery of the wealth of its votaries, much less of the wealth of society in general. It has never applied the second great commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—to the dealings of the rich with the poor, nor written, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," into the laws of trade. It will not do to say that Christianity has not at all affected the rights and obligations of wealth, but it is true, nevertheless, that trade is yet, the world over, essentially unchristian—atheistic.

This is not so strange as at first it might seem. The work of Christianity on society in the modification of relations, and the enactment of laws, has been gradual. It is the leaven in the meal. It freed the slave, it elevated woman to be man's companion and equal, it made human life sacred, not so much by legal enactment or anathema as by permeating with its own life the thought, institutions, and society with which it was mixed. It has only begun to utilize money as a Christian instrument. But in order to its mastery of the world it must give law to trade, hold the even balance between employer and employed, stretch its rod over broad acres, and hold the keys of coffers. It will not destroy the rights of property, but it will subordinate them to the more sacred rights of humanity, and will thus declare how much better is a man than a dollar. Some things there may be in the structure of society to-day as in the days of Moses, as in all the days since Moses, which must be tolerated temporarily because of the hardness of men's hearts. But Christianity is con-

stantly pressing toward the absolutely right and righteous, by the overthrow of compromises and expedients. As nothing is settled until it is right, so this will be a constantly recurring conflict until settled on the basis of justice.

In the progress toward this world-conquest, Christianity has come to where it is confronted by avarice as its antagonist more directly than ever before. The questions of individual and class rights which are agitating every civilized nation, and which in their last analysis are questions of money rights and property ownership, show that the universal moral sense, dimly it may be but yet correctly recognizes the great final antagonist of Christianity in its battle for the world's conquest. It was a Christian and a prophetic instinct which in the New Testament personifies Mammon as the alternative of God in the sovereignty of the world. It is not God or Belial, but God or Mammon.

It ought to be remarked here that the dominion of Mammon is not confined to the hearts of the rich. The complaints of labor against capital are not groundless. The accumulations of gigantic fortunes by craft and cunning, by fraud and theft, and downright robbery—in some cases under cover of law, in others in defiance of law—the ruthless seizure and control of the highways of continental traffic, the rape of the world's mineral wealth, the fruits of invention and discovery made instruments of oppression and ministers of greed—these are indeed terrible illustrations of the power, the tyranny, and the cruelty of avarice, as well as of its antagonism to Christianity. But on the other hand it is true (and this fact adds to our sense of the might of this antagonist of Christianity) that not a little of the outcry against capital is also the voice of avarice. The anarchist's demand is not the claim of justice, but the challenge of the highwayman. The communist is often seeking under the plea of equal rights to establish himself in the place of ease and luxury. The socialist, with change of circumstances, becomes the exacting landlord or the usurious capitalist. Mammon has his worshipers scarcely less in hovels than in palaces. These facts may add to our sense of the power of Mammon, but will not lessen our estimate of the greatness of the conflict.

Avarice is the power standing in the way of all moral progress. It must be conquered in order to the mastery of the world by Christianity. A glance at the various questions—moral, social, and political—which are agitating nations, and especially the most advanced peoples of the world, shows how absolutely the financial problem underlies every other, and how largely Mammon bars the way of progress. In the Irish question now occupying the thought of Great Britain, and challenging the wisdom and power of her greatest statesmen, money is the only difficulty. Mr. Parnell says the whole controversy is a question of rents. So also in the distressed manufacturing districts, the differences between manufacturer and laborer, resulting in strikes and lockouts and boycotts, are simply questions of money more or less.

This master passion of our modern civilization hinders the enactment of wholesome laws against various forms of vice, and makes the enforce-

ment of law always difficult and often impossible. It stimulates lotteries, establishes gambling-houses in our great cities, from which officers of the law are shut out with bars of gold or barricades of iron. Every youthful sport or generous pastime becomes the gambler's tool or opportunity. Even sweet charity pleading for the poor and the unfortunate must minister to avarice with throw of dice or turn of fortune's wheel. The civilized world has of late been sickened to loathing by the published details of lust and debauchery in high places, in which the greed of the procuress has ministered to the lust of the debauchee, while avarice's gilded hand has baffled justice and punished the exposure rather than the crime.

The great battle for the restriction or the destruction of the rum traffic is but a phase of the still greater strife with avarice. Our temperance orators have painted in vivid colors the horrors of drunkenness, its wastefulness and want, its squalor and loathsomeness, its cruelty and crime, its ruin of soul and body. They paint, none too vividly, the cravings of appetite which drink gratifies and strengthens by gratifying. But the temperance orator or organization little realizes that it is not burning appetite so much as cold avarice which stands in the way of any legal restriction or control of the liquor traffic. Appetite never organizes to break down law, to debauch legislation, to corrupt courts, or to suborn perjury of officers or witnesses. But capital, the organized millions of rumsellers and distillers and brewers, aspires to control elections, to shape or frustrate legislation. It boasts that prohibitory laws, if enacted, cannot be enforced, because officers, witnesses, and courts can be corrupted, and it points to the splendid array of legal advisers and advocates in legislative halls and courts of justice who have accepted its retainers, and through whose services legislation has been prevented or the execution of righteous law has been perverted.

We need not delay long to note how largely money holds the control of what is called society. Not morality, but Mammon, dictates fashion: not greatness of soul or intellect, but of purse, admits to the mansion and the palace. Who enters otherwise comes as the servitor rather than the equal. Even the Church is not free from the influence—shall we say the control—of money. The "gold ring" and the "goodly apparel" secured the "good place" even in apostolic days, and money was once offered as an equivalent for the gift of the Holy Ghost. It is not strange, therefore, that in these later days wealth claims its exclusive rights in the sanctuary and preempts its pew, as it purchases its seat at the stock board; or that it thinks the eloquence of the pulpit should be measured by a gold standard, or purchasable by the highest bidder. Nor is it altogether strange that the successors of the Galilean fishermen should sometimes mistakenly judge the pulpit of the wealthiest congregation most desirable, since wealth so often seems the condition of greatest influence.

Avarice stands in the pathway of missionary evangelization. No ports are now closed to Christian commerce. No nation shuts out the Christian missionary, or bans the Christian religion. Heathen superstition or prejudice against the true revelation hardly stands in the way of the

world's conversion. But the avarice of so-called Christian peoples and the crimes which are committed for the sake of gain—the cruel opium trade forced upon China, the French invasion of Siam, the robbery and murder of our Indian tribes—have made the Christian name hateful and the Christian religion a loathing to many darkened souls. The parsimony of Christian Churches has prevented the sending out of missionaries to fields white unto the harvest—to people reaching out their hands for the Gospel. The promising fields of India, China, Japan, and the yet unvisited nations of Africa, await the Gospel to-day, not because there are wanting devoted and earnest men and women ready to go in the name of the Lord—not because the Church is ignorant of the fields or their needs—but because avarice locks up the wealth of the world in Christian coffers. The whole missionary contribution of the Church is not enough to pay for the transportation to the waiting nations of the preachers and teachers needed for their evangelization. The Church which began its missionary work with the whole membership, driven out from Jerusalem, going every-where preaching the Gospel, now stands weak and inefficient in the presence of the waving harvest-fields, because it has followed Ananias in keeping back its gold.

Avarice regards no relations or times as sacred from its touch. The most important of personal obligations are determined by weight of gold rather than strength of affection, and marriage vows are taken at the altar of Mammon rather than at that of God. Avarice ruthlessly invades the quiet of the Sabbath with the noise of business. Year by year it demands more of Sabbath toil, more of business care, and more of social frivolity and dissipation in the sacred hours. The Sunday railway traffic and travel have been built up not to meet commercial necessity—not responsive to the wants of the people, much less in the interest of human charity—but to add to the gains of avarice. The Sunday newspaper is published not to meet a want, but solely as a means of gain. Indeed, the abnormal appetite had first to be developed, a demand created by all the arts of advertising, sensationalism, and even by temporary wastefulness. No better illustration of the greed of avarice can be found than that furnished by the development of the Sunday newspaper.

Christianity is bound to solve this social financial problem not only as she has undertaken to conquer evil in general, and especially to secure justice and equal rights among all who accept her authority, but more especially because it may be said that much of the evil whose elimination is required in the solution of the problem is the fruit of—rather, perhaps we should say, is incidental to the development of—Christian civilization. Indeed, it must be admitted that this element has not been always nor altogether evil. It has sometimes served as scaffolding in the erection of the building. Nevertheless it must be removed before the building can be seen to be complete in its fair proportions. Without following this thought too far, or extending it beyond legitimate bounds, it is sufficient to notice how, in modern civilization, individualism predominates over social or communal ties or rights. In

the old civilizations the tribe or the family was the unit of humanity. In the modern, the man is the unit. It is not difficult to see how Christianity has helped to develop this individualism, and made it a means of progress. Christianity makes religious duties and privileges personal, not tribal. The man is his own priest—comes personally and alone in his relation to God. This independence of priest or patriarch, and separateness from tribe or family, must develop the sense of individuality in the highest, that is, the religious, nature of man. And in turn individualism thus fostered by religion must extend to social and secular life, in striking contrast with the family and communal ideas of older civilizations Not least has this individualism affected property rights. Individual ownership of land, for instance, if not absolutely peculiar to Christian civilization, has, under it, developed and taken on a form quite unknown before—a form which must undergo serious modification and be subject to important limitations, in order to secure the Christian rights of the people against the grasping avarice of the few. A secular paper says of the present Irish agitation, "The total extinction of landlordism, the allotment of the soil, or its occupation in common, after the fashion of the ancient septs, is the demand of the Irish people." This ownership of land in common is seen in the Irish sept, in the Highland clan, and the German tribe, while in each the chief was but the head of the community and the administrator of its affairs. But with the growth of individualism and the weakening of communal bonds the chief became proprietor and the clansmen serfs or dependents.

Secondly, Christian civilization has exalted individual accumulation of wealth to the rank of a virtue—has made it, indeed, the sign of all the virtues. It teaches first of all a sacred regard for property rights. It requires its followers to be industrious, frugal, and temperate; and gain is the natural, inevitable result of the exercise of these virtues. Christianity thus compels its people individually to be thrifty to "get on," in a worldly sense, as proof of their piety. That the Church—the individual society or sect—constantly tends to get away from the common people, and especially from the lowest classes, is illustration of this truth. The enemies of Christianity reproach her with this as an inconsistency. The successive formation of new church organizations to Christianize the low and vicious masses is an emphatic affirmation of this church drift.

It is not here asserted that this Christian accumulation is altogether bad. On the contrary, it has been a stimulus to the exercise of the other virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance, and has also furnished the means for the carrying forward of Christian enterprises; has been, in fact, scaffolding in the building of the Christian temple. Nevertheless, the individualism of Christianity brought over into secular affairs, together with the fostered greed of gain, have well-nigh destroyed the family tie existing among ruder tribes and under heathen systems—the tie, that is, which among the American Indians gave to the members of the same clan or totem common right in the possessions of the whole clan—which among the rude tribes of the South Sea Islands made all the members of

a *gens* brothers—which in Japan makes almshouses unnecessary and pauperism almost unknown, because each family cares for its own poor. And, what is of present purpose, Christianity has as yet furnished no substitute for this communal relation. The solution of the social financial problem requires the development of this unknown quantity.

We have filled up our allotted space, but only said one half of what we have to say on our theme. Perhaps another opportunity will be given.

Boston, May, 1886. D. H. Ela.

ABOUT REVIVALISTS.

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is a standard measure, and may be applied to all agencies used by the Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church, in its zeal for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth and the salvation of souls, has tried various kinds of means for this purpose, and some methods that promised well have not stood the divinely appointed test. For a few years past evangelists—so-called—have been much in demand, and time is testing the quality of their work. The word "evangelist" is wrongly used, and takes the place of "revivalist," which is the proper word. Every body who is a "good messenger," or preaches the pure Gospel, is in one sense an evangelist, but may not be a revivalist. Watson says, that "the office in which the evangelists chiefly present themselves to our notice in the New Testament is that of assistants to the apostles; or, as they might be termed, vice-apostles, who acted under their authority and direction." It is clear that many of the so-called evangelists of this day are not like those of the New Testament time, inasmuch as they make the pastors act under *their* authority and direction. After a careful study of the matter of traveling revivalists for more than a quarter of a century we have reached some decided convictions. It goes without controversy, that not all pastors are revivalists in the common acceptation of the term. Neither are all men singers, nor can they become singers, no matter what effort they may make. Nor are all preachers eloquent or logical or specially persuasive in the pulpit. If poets are born, so are singers, and logicians, and revivalists. Paul and Barnabas and Cephas were antetypes of the preachers of to-day.

If these statements be admitted, then some practical questions present themselves for discussion. It is taken for granted that without revivals any church will sooner or later die; hence revivalists, either stationed or traveling, must be used by the church. Beyond all other organizations in existence the Methodist Episcopal Church provides adequately for all types of preachers, and all classes of work and workers, and under the practical operations of the itinerancy the workers can be admirably adjusted to the work. If at some point a church is to be built, a man can be sent to that place who has a talent in that direction, and frequently a new church or parsonage is needed much more than a revival. Or if debts

have been allowed to accumulate, the presiding elder should secure some man whose abilities in debt-paying are well known, for debts are sores that can be healed only by a receipt from the creditor, and a revival that does not at least provisionally clean off financial obligations is a failure. If a preacher is what is called a "pulpit man," a profound and eloquent preacher, but gifted in no other direction, he can be sent where just such a preacher is needed, and where the church members can furnish the other services. Probably his successor should be a thorough pastor rather than a great preacher, and thus one supplement the other; and although neither may be a revivalist, yet both may do more good than any revivalist could do in the place. Some churches need what is termed a "back door" revival—that is, such an enforcement of the Discipline as will either purify the church or reduce its membership, for laxity of discipline has been the ruin of many a church. Now, if the church edifice has been built or repaired, and the parsonage made comfortable, and the people indoctrinated, and the debts all paid, and the stumbling-blocks taken out of the way, then let a pastor be sent to that charge whose peculiar power lies in the line of revival work; and having good foundations on which to build, and finding a people ready and prepared, he may build wonderfully, and gather a multitude of people to the Lord. This may be called grading the ministers; but God has graded them, giving to but very few all desirable qualities. And by this diversity of gifts is our itinerant system justified; and when we cease to put the men where they are most needed the itinerancy will have failed of its purpose, and the Methodist Church go with the itinerancy. This may be called an ideal plan, but it may be realized—and, in many cases, it has been and is made a success.

But this in no way supersedes the necessity for special men to whom God has given gifts for revivalistic work. There will always be pastors whose health and strength are not equal to the task of holding a long series of revival services, and to the aid of these let these revivalists go. If pastors cannot get the service of a revivalist, let them call in a neighboring pastor, and let them work together, and when the work ceases in one place they can together carry it on in the other. It is only too well known that the results of the work of professional revivalists, with the rarest exceptions, have not been abiding, nor the final results good. What were the permanent fruits of James Caughey's and John Newland Maffit's revival labors? And of several later western revivalists we can say from personal knowledge that the fruit condemns the tree. Possibly the unfortunate results of the labors of professional revivalists may in some cases be explained. Whenever a church or pastor calls in an itinerating revivalist it seems to be a confession of weakness of faith or an unwillingness to undertake, with the Lord's help alone, the work necessary to a revival, and this confession has a damaging effect upon those who may during the revival come into the church. It is also true, as a rule, that a pastor who cannot conduct a successful revival meeting is not adapted to the work of caring for the converts that a revivalist may put into his hands. And, even if he be adapted to that work, there is a natural feel-

ing, shared by himself and the converts, that he is not their spiritual father, but a sort of step-father, and the ties that so closely bind the pastor to the people who are brought to Christ under his ministry are wanting. There is much of the "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos" spirit among those who ought to recognize the pastor as the real shepherd. So when the revivalist is gone the interest suddenly dies, and but few of the professed converts are found to be in sympathy with the church, or prepared to engage in its work. It may be said that if only one soul be saved it is worth all the time, labor, and expense, but if in the saving of that one a score or more are alienated from the church, or made to get eventually farther from Christ, then the saving of that one soul (that might have been saved otherwise) costs too much. If a revival brings on such a reaction as to stupefy the church for years the cost is too great.

But we find the chief reasons for unsatisfactory results from these traveling revivalists in their methods. Many of them have their own hymn-books for use and sale, and these hymns are not taken from our standard hymn-book, nor are they such as tend to edification. They are full of jingle and a certain kind of melody, but devoid of the spirit and power found in the grand old hymns that in the days of the fathers mightily moved sinners to Christ. Many of these modern revivalists seem to depend largely upon mere "bodily exercise," the clapping of hands, marching and countermarching, standing up or holding up the hands in token of the desire for salvation, or going into an inquiry room, and other things still more questionable because they have the look of mere machine work. The superabundance of singing and the paucity of prayer tend to increase the excitement and decrease the spirituality of the work. In former times the Holy Spirit was permitted to notify the penitent of his acceptance with God, but now too many are led to take the word of the revivalist, and profess conversion because he assures them that they are converted; and because of the spurious character of the so-called conversion a speedy falling away is the natural result. In too many cases the members of the church who most need the revival influence are the least affected by it, for they content themselves with paying the wages of the revivalist, and are not led nearer to Christ or benefited spiritually. They "farm out" the work that they ought themselves to do. These things sufficiently account for the lack of permanent result of the work of many modern revivalists. It seems, also, to be a fact that but few prominent, influential men and women are brought into the Church by these revivalists. Thinking men are slow to take up with strangers, and, hence, they are rarely found in any great numbers among the converts of a traveling revivalist. The pastor whose upright walk and godly example help him to preach, is the man who is most liable to reach the thinking, business, influential classes. His work abides, because he knows his congregation and they know him. And when he leads one to the Saviour he looks after that one carefully and prayerfully and constantly. Many a faithful pastor, aided by a faithful praying church, is having revivals that far exceed in power and permanent results the loudly trumpeted

movements of peripatetic revivalists. On some of our circuits and in some of our smaller stations wonderful works of grace are in progress under the old-fashioned appliances, and with the well tried methods—plain, pungent preaching and pointed exhortations, with judicious use of the "mourners' bench" for penitents, and the hearty singing of the old hymns and tunes once, and yet, so full of salvation and power. Many churches suffer from dry-rot, and are nearly dead because they have been waiting for the coming of some noted revivalist who can get larger audiences and better pay elsewhere. It was expedient that Jesus go away that the ubiquitous Comforter might be with us in the stead of one who could be in but one place at one time as a man. So our revivalists not being ubiquitous, and not being enough of them to supply the demand in the winter months, many charges languish and die. We need less machine work, and more Holy Ghost power, and this power is promised to every people who will meet the conditions. We need less numbering of the people, and fewer "jubilees." These things are repugnant to the genius of Methodism and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. No doubt many are really converted in these revivals, and many abide; but there is quite as little doubt that better results would be had if the pastor and membership would go into their closets for spiritual preparation, and then go to the whitened field for the sheaves. As a rule, genuine revivals follow only long and prayerful seed-sowing; and if the church and pastor will call upon the Lord instead of upon a revivalist it is more than possible that the harvest will be gathered with more abiding results. Without reflecting upon the character or ability of these professional revivalists, we hold that the work done in the ordinary way by the regular pastor and his people will be more thorough and more permanent. If our faith will claim the promise it will be fulfilled, and when an earnest church, led by a devoted pastor, calls upon God, and meets his demands, the Holy Spirit will be poured out upon the community as at Pentecost, or as in the days of the fathers, when fear fell upon all the people.

Jacksonville, Ill. W. R. Goodwin.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

"An Appeal to the German People."—This is the title of a recent call on the Protestant portion of the German nation to make new collections every-where for the extraordinary expenses attending the new missions to be founded in the heathen lands to which the German Protectorate is now extending. The call is made on the authority of the Missionary Conference recently held in the far-famed old town of Halle, and is countersigned by such names as Warneck, Rothe, Dietrich, etc.

This does not, of course, mean that Protestant Germany has not maintained missions before this colonial era, for it has had for some time eleven independent societies which have collected large sums by voluntary

contributions, and have thus maintained 520 ordained missionaries, who in various parts of Asia and Africa have collected no less than 200,000 heathen into well-ordered Christian congregations. But these labors hold no proportions to the requirements of the great mission work, nor to the results gained by the missions of England or the United States. But with God's help the Germans propose to make their colonial possessions entail on the people the sense of duty to their Christian faith which shall develop a higher grade of missionary activity.

Just in these German Protectorates there is now only one German missionary center, namely, in Namaqua Land. In the German possessions in Eastern Africa the missionary work is done by the English societies. The Germans have no desire to crowd out these workers; on the contrary, they bid them Godspeed, knowing that there is more than work enough for all, and that it is the part of wisdom for them to concentrate their own efforts and their means where there are as yet no workers, as in New Guinea and the Cameroons.

This experimental effort was inaugurated some time ago in a provincial conference, and the appeal was followed by so generous a response as to give general joy and great encouragement. The present grand appeal now says: "We are bold enough to hope that this magnanimous example will incite all classes, and especially the wealthy among us, to do according to the measure of their capability. We need for these new missions means that shall rise into the hundreds of thousands, and in order to attain to this height large sums must flow from the coffers of the rich." To this end the leading mission workers of the land, headed by the zealous and indefatigable Warneck, call for subscriptions to be paid in installments. The editors of various religious journals are also ready to receive and announce any sums that may be sent them, and they are all enthusiastic in passing on the glad echo of "Money for missions!" The German nation is aroused in this cause as never before.

The Kulturkampf seems to be about settled between Prussia and Poland at least. At the request of the pontiff the belligerent and obstinate Ledochowski has resigned his seat, and given place to a more facile occupant in the person of the first ecclesiastic of Königsberg, who enters on his duties with the consent of the State and the Church. It is certainly a great concession on the part of the Vatican that a German is allowed to occupy the principal ecclesiastical seat in Posen.

This is also a great victory for Bismarck against the Polish Propaganda, which has been a most incongruous mixture of politics, nationality, and religion. It seems to be the result of the direct negotiations between the Chancellor and the Pope, which began with the arbitration concerning the Caroline Islands. Bismarck now openly announces that he is done with the Party of the Center in the Imperial Parliament, which has been more active in politieal than in religious aims.

The reputation of Dr. Dinder is that of a discreet and experienced man, who possesses the capacity of holding his own wisely in difficult situations.

He possesses also the added advantage of a perfect control of the Polish tongue, so that he can confer equally well with both parties and nationalities. As chief pastor of the Catholics of Königsberg, he has naturally had to battle through all the *Kulturkampf*, and he seems to have done this with zeal for his own cause and moderation for his opponents. When the Old Catholics succeeded in obtaining the parochial church for their special use, he changed his own home, at a great sacrifice, into a church of refuge.

This nomination fills up the last of the long-vacant bishoprics of Prussia, and allows the principal questions to become the order of the day. And this is the work of the hour in this class of legislation. Many of the stern laws formed in the earlier part of this conflict were adopted partly as military necessities, and the nation and the legislators are alike willing to mitigate and modify them. The Prussian embassador at the Vatican seems to have found a *modus vivendi*, and is now in Berlin as guide and counselor in the process of altering the laws with a view to making them ~~acceptable~~ to both Church and State. There is evidently a will to affect this purpose on both sides, and therefore most probably a way will be found. The Catholic party in the Parliament will find its occupation gone in case of a solution and settlement of the vexed question, and it is consequently in no great haste to make itself helpless and needless. It is sincerely to be desired that the new bishop will receive a welcome in Posen and a hearty support from his people. But, as it is the first time that a German priest has sat in this episcopal chair, the Poles consider it a decided triumph of the Bismarckian national policy, and with this phase of the matter they are not content. The leading Polish journals pay all deference to the lofty character of the new incumbent, but cannot conceal the fact that he is not their choice.

"The Jews Once and Now."—The literary Jews of Germany are entering the arena in defense of their race with the above device on their banner. A few years ago an association was formed in Dresden composed of the most influential men from the bosom of the synagogue. Believers in other faiths, and perhaps of no faith, were granted a place in the fraternity, but their public discussions concerned Jewish interests mainly. At a recent meeting of the body the rabbi of the Dresden synagogue delivered an address, followed by a remarkable effort from a popular lawyer and prominent member of the Jewish body of Dresden. The title of this stirring appeal was: "The Jews Once and Now."

In the opening of his lecture the speaker, who was followed with marked interest and attention, depicted the present era as one containing germs of promise for the development of Judaism, although beside them he acknowledged the existence of a somber spirit of antagonism, especially among the literary youth of the day. This outlawry he declared to be a violation of the German Constitution in the rights that it grants to the Jews; and he further asserted, that though his people have obstinately

clung to the past in many instances, they have by no means been an obstacle in the way of the historical development of the human race. Moreover it is unjust to maintain that they have not been an historical nation, for the Jewish faith, as that of the Christian, has a development to present. Both beliefs show corresponding parties, and meet closely in the representatives of the liberal tendencies of Christianity and Judaism which belong to Lessing and Goethe in their ideal of human love. Christianity finds its roots in Jewish history; but it is by no means the aim of Judaism to be absorbed and disappear in Christianity; it is rather its task to develop its ideal situation, and to remove its meaningless external forms in order thus to fulfill Lessing's famous parable of the three rings in his drama of "Nathan the Sage."

But to this theoretical, and in some respects visionary, discussion the speaker finally added some very practical and startling suggestions. He would remove the seat of the International Jewish Alliance from Paris to Berlin, because the political center of gravity is now found in the imperial German capital. In accordance with the spirit of the age, he would abandon many Jewish customs, such as the Jewish modes of slaughtering animals, circumcision, etc., as being now immaterial to the Jewish faith. He would crowd the Hebrew tongue out of the Israelitish service, and abolish the Jewish Sabbath and peculiar festivals for the common Sunday of the Christian world, believing that this proceeding would hasten the period when Jews and Christians would sit together in brotherly love. This remarkable address was received with applause, even by officials of the synagogue.

The Russian Autocrat is just now using his iron hand upon the Germans of the Baltic Provinces. By imperial ukase the Lutheran schools of all grades, even the normal schools in Esthonia, Courland, and other provinces in Russia bordering on the Baltic, are suspended. This is a measure directed against the Germans who emigrated many years ago to these wastes under the condition that their tongue and religion were not to be changed, but were to remain unmolested. The endeavor now is, to stamp out both of these by indirect methods; for instance, in all the normal schools the instruction must be given mainly in the Russian tongue; this can only be done by Russians, as it is rare that the Germans learn the Russian well enough to make it a vehicle of teaching. The result therefore is, that the German teachers are in this way crowded out to make way for Russian teachers in German provinces.

In respect to the higher schools, an ordinance was recently issued that all the most important branches of study must be imparted by teachers who have taken their courses in the colleges and lyceums of St. Petersburg or other government schools, where Russian alone is the vehicle of instruction. This ministerial dictum has a double signification. Without directly saying so, it is intended again to crowd out of the corps of teachers the great mass of the profession who cannot lecture in the Russian tongue; and then it is most directly aimed at the young students of the

Baltic provinces who are not Russians, and cannot become so by a mere course of study. The most of these take their University studies in the Institution of Dorpat, which by special privilege is allowed to teach in the German idiom. There was no need of Russifying the higher institutions, because in Riga, Reval, and Mitau there are German as well as Russian gymnasia.

In addition to this attack on the educational interests, come also those now against the Protestant religion. Another imperial ukase orders the expropriation of private property for the erection of "orthodox churches," that is, of the Russo-Greek faith. This process of violence is also granted where land is needed for burying-grounds, parsonages, and schools. The owners are paid for their property, but by a Russian commission, and for the purposes of the Russian faith. From the same source we learn that a yearly subsidy of 100,000 rubles has been granted to the Baltic provinces for the support and propagation of so-called "orthodoxy." Fifteen new churches are contemplated, and some are already in the course of construction. Another ukase ordains that measures are to be taken for the support of four new dioceses, whose demands for said support began on the first of January last. A Russian official organ also announces that active measures are now being taken for the introduction of a general judicial reform. This means that soon all the courts, as well as the laws, are to be virtually Russian.

"DOWN WITH THE SECTS" is the war-cry in certain parts of Germany, especially in Saxony. In some of the towns the government has stepped in to assist the State Church to stop their propaganda. But all of these measures are of no avail, the agitation still goes on, especially among the Methodists, who have lately consecrated a new church in Zwickau. Here, when forbidden to gather in the children whose attendance was compulsory in the State Church schools, they tried the experiment of collecting those who do not go to the public schools, which has been successful. According to the sensational accounts of the local papers, the Baptists are acting just as badly. Their center of agitation is in Planitz, and their leader there is a potter. A reporter gives a stenographic account of some inflammatory speeches held by working-men in a Baptist prayer-meeting. He adds that one cannot deny the good intentions of these people, but he thinks that their appeals are mere rant.

And still these ranters seem to find hearers and adherents in increasing numbers. The National Church has recently issued an address to its followers, trying to warm their enthusiasm by allusions to Luther and the national consciousness. This document acknowledges the existence of great abuses and imperfections, but counsels its followers to remain in the bosom of the mother Church and reform it. To quote some of its sentences: "As one will not abandon his family or his country because there may be imperfections in them, so one should not leave the mother Church in its extremity, but rather cling the more closely to it and endeavor to cure its evils." This humble talk is of quite recent date; the

"Church" first threw stones, but is now throwing grass. We opine that in many instances it is now too late. Luther himself, were he now alive, would doubtless scourge many of his cold and listless followers, and tell the Sects to come on!

THE DANES have been troubled for some years with an experiment in primary schools that has brought to them no good. The Bible has been excluded from them, and they have gradually been made nurseries of impiety and the various *isms* of demagogues. This character has been given to them by the influence of a popular leader who has had more success in invoking a spirit of unrest than in teaching truth or science. The better class of the community is now rising against them, and the Minister of Public Instruction has at last felt impelled to come out in bold opposition to them by advising a halt in the downward course, and the introduction of the Bible and religious teaching.

The Danish Bible Society is ready to co-operate in this movement by increasing its activity in the line of Bible distribution. A commission has also been formed for the revision of the New Testament, of which several sections are already finished. This energy is now all the more necessary because the British Bible Society, which has distributed a large number of Bibles in Sweden and Denmark, now feels like lessening its work and compelling thus a development of home energy in the cause.

According to the last report of the above society it distributed in 1885 about 11,700 Bibles, as well as 16,900 psalters and sections of the Bible, and this mainly through the energy of commissioned colporteurs. The entire distribution of Bibles by the British Society during the last thirteen years amounts to nearly 100,000, and it is judged that 200,000 more are needed.

The rapid growth of Copenhagen in the last generation increases the necessity for more churches, and some well-known personages are now interested in a public call for this cause, with a view to rouse up the lethargy of the Christian people both in city and country, and to turn it into activity for this purpose. Two new churches have just been begun, and another is being started. At least nine in all are wanted.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF FRANCE is proceeding apace in its various phases. One hundred and fifty, more or less, of pastors, evangelists, or teachers are actively engaged in the employ of the Central Evangelization Society. Through the preaching of the Gospel they have formed some three hundred and fifty societies, that will eventually, it is supposed, become component parts of the Church. The Protestant Reformed Churches are making great efforts to win back what was lost to them or robbed from them by the infamous Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, for before and after that act of violence not less than 3,000 chapels and 2,000 churches were destroyed. After the great revolution in 1802, when the Reformed Church was again organized, only 115 congregations received a constitution or charter of rights. To-day, that body has 600 congregations in

France, and 150 smaller churches, while in the entire land there are about 1,200 Protestant pastors.

In other lines of the evangelical life of France the report of last year is quite instructive. Under the care of a Lutheran pastor there is a Refuge for apprentices, working-men, and even students, at very moderate prices, where they may have good, wholesome food and the advantages of a Christian family life. The House of Deaconesses, which acts as a sort of training school for the order, has just made its ninth annual report. The work is prospering, although it has to contend with financial embarrassments.

Of the fourteen sisters now in the house, seven are ordained and seven are still novitiates. They find their sphere of labor mainly in the Lutheran parishes of the city, where they operate under the direct control of the pastor of each parish.

The work naturally partakes of a German character, and finds its chief usefulness among the German population. In the Mother-house some thirty sick persons were cared for during the year. About 700 patients were treated or advised without pay, and medicines were also distributed gratuitously. In the famous plebeian suburb of Montmartre there is an Orphanage founded by a Lutheran pastor, under the care of two deaconesses.

The Giant Congregations of the great cities of Germany are being unveiled in some of the religious journals of the land, showing a good deal of rottenness in the machine which they appear to be; for instance: A country pastor lately interviewed a city brother in relation to the inner workings of his parish, and as they were friends in youth, both parties conversed without guile or constraint. "How many souls in your parish?" said the rural brother. "Eighty thousand," was the reply. "And in yours?" "Eight hundred." "How many baptisms last Sunday?" to him of the city. Reply, "Thirty." "And you?" "Three."

In the course of the conversation it appeared that the city pastor performed all his baptisms *en masse* at the church, while the country pastor went to the house of his parishioners and made a family festival of it with all the relatives assembled, which is the normal way in Germany, thus exerting a greater measure of influence for pastor and Church.

The two friends now came to speak of the marriages; and while the one has about eight yearly the other has several hundred. The latter will often marry twenty or thirty couple at a time, going through the whole ceremony in a formal and ceremonious way, and dismissing the parties as would a city alderman. The former again has but one at a time, and makes of this an impressive occasion in keeping with the solemnity of the service, and here also leaving an impression of a religious character that will most likely be lasting and profitable. The whole matter means that these monster congregations are a crying abuse as religious organizations, and their work degenerates into a mere formalism, if not a sort of farce. Therefore the cry for reform in this mode of doing a religious work.

Statistics of the Prussian Church.—The Prussian State Church is nothing if not statistical, and it is quite interesting to see how it sticks to figures. And, as it takes a long time to gather these in, we have just received those for 1884. In that year, then, 601 pulpits were supplied; a reduction of 15 from the year preceding. The entire number of appointments now reaches 6,600. Among these newly placed men 183 were licensed candidates, and 97 had been assistant pastors.

The number of theological students has been trebled within the last seven or eight years. In 1884, 293 candidates received the license to preach; an increase of 152 over the year 1880. The number of preaching points increased by 14, while the church edifices have increased 13. Of the whole number of children born in 1884, 93.77 per cent. were baptized in the Protestant State Church; the remaining 6.23 per cent. either remained without baptism or entered other Churches. The marriages of pure Protestant couples or of mixed faith, 91.05.

The percentage of baptisms decreased, while on the contrary the marriages showed an increase over the preceding year. Among the large cities, Königsberg, Stettin, Magdeburg, and Berlin fell below the general percentage. The greatest falling off was in marriages; doubtless because many were satisfied with the civil ceremony alone. Among the unpleasant things in the report is, that eleven Protestants went over to Judaism.

The Churches have taken up the tramp question in Germany, and are making a great deal of progress in what they call "Working Colonies." The third general meeting of the leaders of this work was recently held in Berlin, and the discussions were very gratifying and instructive. Dr. Bodelschwingh is the chief of the system and enterprise, and seems to be almost divinely appointed for the work. The governments help him to found colonies where tramps can be put to work, and whose whole object is to reclaim rather than to support them. Every thing like actual or professional begging is discountenanced, and the men are raised up to an independent manhood where possible, and then discharged. A gallery of portraits of the tramps showing how they looked when they were received and then when discharged added to the interest of the meeting. Of course many cases are failures; but when these men will not work in the Colony they are arrested and made to work in the Houses of Correction if they go back to their begging. The tramp question has certainly never been more wisely handled than by these associations, and they deserve success.

The Colony of Artuf in Palestine is mainly an effort to found a refuge and a school for converted Jews, aided by a goodly number of Christians. The idea is to reintroduce systematic and scientific agriculture into the land with a view to regenerate it, and if possible to draw to it a Jewish population under Christian influences. It has been loudly decried by the Jews as a failure, but this is not true. A mistake was made in receiving too many, and also in taking incongruous elements. These latter, perceiving the error, have largely withdrawn because they were not willing

to engage in agricultural labor; but those who remain have the better opportunity to carry on their experiment. The settlement now contains 30 inhabitants, of whom 11 are men, 7 women, and 12 children. These are now in a better condition as regards their homes, and in better relations with one another, and are looking with decided confidence to the future. What is now most wanted is aid from the Christian world. The triumph of the Jews would be great were Artuf abandoned.

The Swiss Evangelical Society of Zurich, in its last annual report in regard to the various spheres of home mission work, shows a great deal of activity. The large loan library was greatly increased, and 30,000 larger and smaller publications were issued, besides 40,000 tracts. A gratuitous reading club gave to about 2,000 families an opportunity to enjoy Christian publications, and on Sunday a large number of boys were collected in the association rooms for instruction. A "Refuge" for traveling workmen sheltered, in the course of the year, no less than 11,000 of this class, some for a meal and others for a night. With this is connected a hospital, which is a welcome asylum for many poor working-men. The city missionaries have been very active, preaching and teaching in public and private, there being some twenty mission stations for Sunday work. The Benevolent Society assisted many poor people in various ways; while the Society for Sabbath Observance established Sunday lectures on various religious subjects. This central association has rural branches which greatly increase the sphere for doing good, and they also report gratifying success.

The London Catholic Directory for 1886 gives very full statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain. The "Church" has 1,575 churches, chapels, and stations. In this enumeration are not counted the private chapels in certain large households; of these there are eleven. In 1885 the number of priests increased from 2,522 to 2,576. During the year 91 priests were consecrated, 56 in the Secular Clergy and 35 in the Orders. Among these latter we note the Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, Oblates, Redemptionists, and Marists. In the hierarchy there are 23 bishops and archbishops. In England and Wales there are 14 bishops, 1 archbishop, and 2 suffragans. In Scotland there are 2 archbishops, with 4 suffragans. The archiepiscopal diocese of Westminster contains 359 priests, of whom 100 belong to the Orders. The leading diocese, after that of London, is Liverpool, where there are 323 priests, 103 of whom belong to the Orders. In the line of schools there are 37 colleges, and 101 cloister schools. In the archiepiscopal diocese of Westminster there were in 1885 in the elementary schools 20,111 children. The British realm contains 14 archbishops, 87 bishoprics, 35 vicariates, and 10 apostolic prefectures.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE SOURCES OF MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS.—Most Missionary Societies have, it is to be presumed, settled for themselves the question what are certain and what uncertain sources of financial income. Our own society looks chiefly to the churches for its regular income, and believes that in the individual contributions of members of the congregations it has its surest promise of support. The income by legacies must always be of uncertain amount. For example, the receipts from this source for the year ending October 31, 1884, were not quite $50,000. Last year they were $101,901, more than twice the amount credited to any previous year excepting 1883, when the figures were $78,091, and 1876, when they were $51,338. In 1872 there was only $10,364; in 1873 only $15,817, while in 1874 there was a jump to $47,603. Of the $6,500,000 (round numbers) received by the society in the past ten years, only about one dollar in twelve, or $518,570, has come from legacies, and a much smaller amount from "sundries." Our chief reliance is, and must be, on the intelligent liberality of the people; on the gifts—small individually, but large in the aggregate—of the masses. Nor must our dependence be on the wealthy few. Probably it would be found, if any analysis of our Church collections were possible, that the wealthy give a smaller amount proportionately than most of us suspect. However this may be, it is certain that, as the masses of our communicants, men and women in the middle and lower stations of life, are educated in the history and results of missions, in their duty toward the heathen and neglected populations in our own country and abroad, and in the obligation which their membership in Christ's kingdom imposes on their individual liberality—as this training process advances, so will the income of our Missionary Society. We cannot depend on legacies or "sundries," or the contributions of the wealthy; but we can trust the enlightened Christian conscience for the needful support and extension which our missions require from year to year.

We propose no discussion of this important matter in these pages, which are devoted rather to missionary news than to editorial comment; we simply desire to call attention to these surface facts, concerning our own and other American societies, in order that our readers may the better appreciate what we propose to introduce from a very intelligent article in the May number of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer." This monthly, we may say, without intending to be invidious or to disparage other periodicals of the class, is easily the ablest missionary monthly in existence. Its articles on missionary methods, on missionary history, on difficulties of administration, and on various other vital questions in missionary enterprise are not excelled in breadth of view, general candor, or intelligent comprehension. It represents the Church Missionary Society, which, as many of our readers are aware, is an expression of the missionary spirit of the Evangelicals of the Church of England. Its operations

are, perhaps, more widely extended than those of any other society, and it leads all other societies in the amount of its annual income. In 1878 its income touched and passed the million-dollar line, the actual receipts for that year being $1,120,540, all for foreign missions. It had approached the million-dollar line in 1874, 1876, and 1877. So far as we know it has not dropped below that line since it reached it. In the last five years the amounts have not varied largely. In 1881 the income was $1,037,540; in 1882, $1,105,680; in 1883, $1,126,155; in 1884, $1,162,240; in 1885, $1,157,705. The income for the present year will be, it is announced, fully as large as last year, notwithstanding the agricultural depression. How is it possible to make the income of one of several missionary societies of one Church so large, and to maintain it so uniformly? We cannot now explain the home methods of the society; we can only say that the home field is thoroughly mapped out and covered by a series of branch associations, and it is from these agencies, which are managed with great skill, that the bulk of the contributions is received.

The article to which we wish to call attention, and from which we will cull some interesting facts and conclusions, is called "The Titled and the Wealthy: their Contributions to Foreign Missions." It is the first article in the May "Intelligencer." Its author is the Rev. H. Percy Grubb. Mr. Grubb says, it is generally well known that the means for the support of missions is furnished chiefly by the middle and lower classes of society; but this impression is a good deal weakened by the comments of the press on a society so rich that it can spend a million dollars yearly on its missionary enterprises, and by the mention from time to time of legacies or benefactions. He owns that he has been curious enough as to the sources of this income to analyze at great cost of labor the annual financial reports, with a view not only to satisfy his own mind on the subject, but to put the society in a position to plan intelligently for an extension of missionary zeal. He finds first, that the number of titled persons, excluding bishops, judges, privy councilors, and knights, with their wives, is not under 7,000. He then goes through the detailed reports of the society and extracts the contributions of all titled persons, including knights and their wives, and presents the result in a table. The table gives the items by counties under two heads: 1st, annual subscriptions, number and amounts; 2d, occasional benefactions, number and amounts. The result shows that 362 titled persons gave $5,325 in annual subscriptions, and $1,225 in benefactions. These are beggarly amounts, indeed. Of course they do not include the gifts to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which raises about half the amount yearly of the Church Missionary Society; but the latter is the great foreign missionary society of the Church, and that it should have so small a support from the titled class is, as Mr. Grubb remarks, painful evidence of coldness where there should be warmth; of indifference where there should be enthusiasm. There is in the amount subscribed a uniformity which indicates that the subscriptions given are not an expression of interest in the cause, but simply a conventional matter. In Middlesex

County the average of fifty subscriptions is less than $10, in Kent the average of twenty-one is $10 50, and there are plenty of $5 subscriptions in the list, no fewer than one hundred and seventy-nine being for this amount, while thirty-nine are for only $2 50. Only one reaches $500; the next highest but one being $125. Among the noble contributors were two dukes, one duchess, fifteen earls, fourteen countesses, six marquises, two marchionesses, four viscounts, and twenty lords. The dukes gave about $43 each, the duchess gave $16, the earls an average of $80, the countesses not quite $10, the marquises $13, the marchionesses $30, the viscounts $7 50, the lords $20. There were besides one hundred and thirty-three titled ladies who gave less than $10, eighty-three honorables who gave the same sum, and eighty-two baronets and knights whose average was about $15. Mr. Grubb's tables show that four titled persons subscribe over one fifth of the total of $5,325; and when he remembers how many millions and tens of millions of income these titled persons represent, he is constrained to admit that small as he expected to find their contributions he was not prepared to find them so utterly insignificant. "One thousand pounds a year, the contribution by the nobility of England to the Church Missionary Society, the largest and most important of missionary societies! what a trifle it is!" What an ignoble gift for the "foremost and richest nobility in the world to the foremost cause in the world!"

This sum, compared with sums received from other sources of the society's income, is very small, indeed, as Mr. Grubb proceeds to show. Missionary boxes, which are held by the poorer classes of missionary supporters, and filled, not by begging so much as by personal self-denial, produce twenty times as much as the three hundred and sixty-two dukes, lords, and ladies, or $100,000. The Sunday-schools alone produce five times as much. Mr. Grubb shows how a small parish of only three hundred and six poor persons raised year before last $590 for the society by various methods. The parish of St. Margaret's, Brighton, gave more than the nobility, and there were only four subscriptions of $50 and upward, the largest being $150. But do not the nobility contribute in other ways, through the offertory, for example? Mr. Grubb thinks not. He seems determined to make them ashamed of themselves. He says:

> We are not aware that missionary offertories, taken as a whole throughout the country, are increased in any very marked degree by the gifts of titled and wealthy persons. We do not say that in individual congregations the presence of the rich does not materially affect the offertory; but we say, that taking the missionary offertories throughout the country as a whole, our own experience and our study of the Report do not lead us to conclude that the sums which the wealthy contribute to the offertories, bear any larger proportion to the offertories as a whole than do the sums which they are noted as contributing to the subscription lists bear to the total sums mentioned in these lists. There are, besides, two, perhaps three, classes of offertories to which the wealthy contribute but small sums, if at all, namely, those at the afternoon and evening Sunday services, and at missionary meetings, which they rarely attend. Further, the sum received in the alms-dish from a wealthy person seldom exceeds the customary sovereign; and if we may state our own conviction, an induction drawn from, if not a large, yet not a small, area of observation, it is this, that in a considerable number, if not in a majority,

of country parishes, even in those where titled and wealthy persons reside, the missionary offertory is indebted for a large proportion of its gold to the clergyman and his family.

Mr. Grubb here drops the nobility with the observation that the royal family is not represented at all in the society's lists, and enters into an analysis of the other contributions to the society, affirming that the larger sums are given, not by poor persons, perhaps, but by those who have to make considerable effort in the way of self-denial in order to do so. His tables show that of the $674,095 received through associations no more than $46,700 came in subscriptions of $50 and upward. These tables have more than ordinary interest, and those interested in missionary resources would do well to study them. We can only find further space at present for Mr. Grubb's conclusion, that what is true of the titled classes is true also of the wealthy. The society receives only a "fractional support from the moneyed classes." The bulk of the income is from the hundreds of thousands of village children and poor persons, the pennies and shillings of those in humble life. Mr. Grubb leaves the question with an earnest discussion as to why the titled and wealthy classes do so little, comparatively, for foreign missions.

The Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.—There has been not a little discussion, recently, concerning the plan of administration of the missions of the Church South, and it was expected that the General Conference which met in Richmond early in May would earnestly consider whether new methods were desirable and practicable. These pages are necessarily prepared before the Conference has fairly got beyond the preliminary stage, so that the course it will take is entirely unknown. Dr. Garland, president of the Board of Missions, started the discussion in the press, by suggesting certain changes which were needed, in his judgment, in order to greater efficiency in administration. There has been a marked improvement of organization in the past eight years—especially in the last quadrennium. The business methods, as we learn from the "Advocate of Missions," the monthly organ of the Board, have been vastly improved, and, certainly, the contributions have increased to a most gratifying extent. The income in 1882 was $103,000; in 1883, $160,000; in 1884, $177,000; in 1885, $186,000; and in 1886 $230,000, all for foreign missions. The fact that the income of the Board was more than doubled in four years indicates better methods and better administration. The missionaries in the field are anxious that the system of superintendency should be changed. They say that they are practically disfranchised under the present system of superintendency, and made voiceless in the plans of the Church. They have no vote in the home Conferences to which they belong, and no voice in the management of the missions in which they are laboring. The missions of the Board are in China, Brazil, Mexico, on the Mexican border, and among the Indians and Germans. In these fields 46 ordained missionaries are employed—10 in China, 5 in Brazil, 7 in Central Mexico, 11 on the Mexican border,

10 among the Indians, and 3 among the Germans. It is estimated that about $100,000 was raised this year for domestic missions. A new mission has just been opened in Japan.

THE OPENING IN SIAM.—It is, perhaps, not generally known that Siam, of which the Western world hears so little, is one of the open doors now presented to missionary enterprise. It is an obscure kingdom, but it is an important one, and ought to be occupied by a large force of missionaries. Only one missionary, an American Baptist, is engaged in this field besides the representatives of the American Presbyterian Board. The doors of the kingdom are wide open. Both king and people are not only not hostile, they are friendly to Christianity, and missionaries can go every-where and teach and preach the Gospel. The king has actually helped the Presbyterian missionaries by donations. The people, who were afraid a few years ago to receive any literature from the missionaries, are now eager to get books and tracts, and besiege the missionaries for them. The number of inquirers is steadily increasing. The doctrines of Buddhism are losing their hold on the people, and the time is ripe for Christianity. The Presbyterians have but two stations, one at Bangkok and the other at Petchaburi. The number of communicants is 328.

MISSIONARY WORK IN FORMOSA.—There are few fields in Asia more successful than Formosa has been, though at the beginning it was very unpromising. The English and Canadian Presbyterians have supported a mission in Formosa for some years, and one of the Canadian missionaries, Mr. Mackay, has led a most heroic life among the Formosans, marrying a native woman and giving himself to his work in much the same spirit as William Taylor has given himself to Africa. For years the people were hostile and the missionaries not only suffered much persecution, but were often in danger of being killed by furious mobs. Christianity, however, has so far won its way against their prejudices that many have renounced idolatry and become earnest Christians, living an exemplary life, and seeking to propagate Christianity among their heathen countrymen. The Rev. W. Campbell, in a letter to the London "Presbyterian Messenger," gives an interesting account of how an obscure village received the truths of the Gospel at the hands of native Christians. Mr. Campbell recently made a tour of the country of Ka-gi, which is on the western side of Formosa, nearly in the middle of the island. In the country where there used to be much opposition there are now six Christian congregations. Gu-ta-oan is a large village, twelve miles from Ka-gi city. It was not until six months ago that the missionaries learned that there were any who even knew of Christianity in Gu-ta-oan. When the first intimation was received that Christianity had been introduced in the town three students were sent from Taiwanfoo to make inquiries. These students saw enough to convince them that the people sincerely desired to know the truths of the Gospel, about thirty of them having renounced all connection with idolatry, and being daily engaged in the study of the New

Testament and hymn-book. Mr. Campbell and his companion received a warm welcome from these native Christians of Gu-ta-oan, who left their fields to receive the visitors and provide refreshment and suitable lodging for them, "and took every way," writes Mr. Campbell, "of showing their joy and thankfulness at our presence among them." "They also," he continues, "conducted me to a neighboring village, where five or six entire families had ceased the worship of idols, and were now under such Christian instruction as could be obtained." In the evening a general meeting was held, many outsiders being present, and listening most respectfully. Of the meeting Mr. Campbell says:

> The apartment in which we met proving rather confined, a large table was placed on the open ground outside, and, standing upon this, we preached alternately till we were thoroughly tired. More than a hundred people gathered round. It was clear, full moon, and I have seldom spoken under circumstances more encouraging and impressive. After much interesting conversation that same evening, one brother offered a site, while about twenty others engaged to put up a suitable place of worship at their own expense. It was agreed that a building with bamboo frame-work would be quite sufficient to meet present requirements.

The origin of this interesting movement is thus described:

> So far as I could learn, it appears that the beginning of the movement in Gu-ta-oan dates much further back than the present year. They told me that about three years ago, during the time of a bad harvest, a number of the villagers were scattered abroad in search of employment; that two of them found their way to the Christian village of Giam-cheng, where Deacon Tsu-ong became acquainted with them, procuring occupation for them, and from the very commencement speaking to them of obtaining salvation through the mercy of God. To one of these men he presented a copy of the small hymn-book used at our meetings; and some weeks after, this man returned able to read some of the hymns, and is now warmly interested in the invitation to become a worshiper of the true and living God. About this time also a Gu-ta-oan man went to the city of Ka-gi to take up his residence there, and for the first time listened to some remarks from a Church adherent on the need and the preciousness of Christ's salvation. Then our Ka-gi elder Se-keng went down and spent a Sabbath at Gu-ta-oan, finding a little company of brethren awaiting him, who, considering their opportunities, had acquired an amount of Christian knowledge that was most creditable to them. Before I left on Saturday morning they requested that Ang-khe should be allowed to remain with them for eight or ten days to see after the building of the chapel, and to have reading-classes with them every evening after worship. To this I readily assented, parting from them soon after with something of the feelings of one who had found a vein of silver. I have no doubt that a number of the fine, promising lads at Gu-ta-oan will yet be able to give a good account of themselves. Several of the grown-up people are already speaking of sending their sons down to the middle school in Taiwanfoo.

The movement embraces whole families. The people seem to be very much in earnest, and important results are expected.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Irish political and economic questions are forced upon the attention of Americans whether they will or no. The large Irish element in our population, the presence in almost every comfortable city or town home of one or more servants of Irish birth, compels an interest which is immediately next to our own political concerns. Such an article as that in the "Nineteenth Century" for March, on "The Economic Value of Ireland to Great Britain," will have many American readers. Robert Giffen writes in a very calm and thoughtful manner of the economic questions created by the poverty of Ireland, as well as of the economic methods which have created that poverty. This writer shows, that with every decade the disproportion of the population of the rest of the United Kingdom to that of Ireland increases. A new people is grown in Great Britain equal to the whole of the disaffected part of Ireland at the present time every ten years. Down to the year 1845, from the beginning of the century, the people of Ireland were about half those of Great Britain, and about a third of the whole population of the United Kingdom. The population of the disaffected parts of Ireland was also nearly three fourths of the whole of that country, and consequently about a fourth of that of the United Kingdom. The change from such proportions is about that of one seventh for the proportion of Ireland itself to the United Kingdom, and one twelfth for the proportion of the disaffected parts of Ireland. This writer shows also how Irish capital is only one twenty-fourth part of that of the United Kingdom. England trades with India annually to the extent of £66,000,000; with Australia to the extent of £55,000,000; with Ireland a trade of about £40,000,000. The author concludes that Great Britain has not much to lose in dissolving partnership with Ireland, while Ireland has a great deal to lose.

Professor Huxley returns to his attack upon the supernatural elements of theology in an anthropological study with the title, "The Evolution of Theology." His first sentence shows how limited his knowledge is of that which he attempts to study: "I conceive that the origin, the growth, the decline, and the fall of those speculations respecting the existence, the powers, and the disposition of beings analogous to men, but more or less devoid of corporeal qualities, which may be broadly included under the head of theology, are phenomena the study of which legitimately falls within the province of the anthropologist." There is no fault to be found with his claim that the anthropologist has a right to study these things; but so far as this statement defines what he means by theology, his conception of it is absurdly and totally inadequate. Professor Huxley plunges at once into the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch; assumes that there is little certainty to be attached to these utterances, as they are "an enumeration of documents which certainly belong to very different ages, but of the exact dates and authorship of any of which, except perhaps one or two of the prophetical writings,

there is no evidence either internal or external, so far as I can discover, of such a nature as to justify more than a confession of ignorance, or at most an approximate conclusion." Any man who in the presence of modern critical studies can make such a statement puts himself out of court at once, so far as he claims to be a scientific student of theology. Nevertheless, the article is readable, as is all Professor Huxley's work; conveys a vast amount of information from the ethnographic and biological standpoint; and is valuable as a stimulus to theological scholars who have learned to read Professor Huxley with less alarm than in years gone by.

A second paper on this same subject appears in the April number of the "Nineteenth Century," and is given the leading place. The basis of Professor Huxley is further illustrated in the second article by this statement: "In the present results of biblical criticism, however, I can discover no justification for the common assumption that between the time of Joshua and Rehoboam any thing was known either of the Deuteronomic or of the Levitical legislation, or that the theology of the Israelites, from the king who sat on the throne to the lowest of his subjects, was in any important respect different from that which might naturally be expected from their previous history and the conditions of their existence. I see no reason to doubt that, like the rest of the world, the Israelites passed through a period of mere ghost worship, and had advanced through ancestry worship and fetichism and totemism to the theological level at which we find them in the books of Judges and Samuel." There is a very great difference between seeing no reason to doubt and seeing much reason to believe. When Professor Huxley is engaged in a strictly scientific inquiry he ostensibly believes nothing for which he does not have evidence; but when he makes a theological excursion he will believe nothing to be theologically true on any evidence whatever.

Those who oppose woman suffrage will find in this number a well-written paper by the Hon. Mrs. Chapman, which closes with the following sentence: "My earnest hope is, that the political franchise will not be given to any woman. To give it may be progress, but there is progress in a wrong direction."

R. H. Hutton has in this number a study of Cardinal Newman which, in literary quality, strikes us as one of the best things in recent literature. He is no more than just to Cardinal Newman when he states, that "his unique position consists in this, that while most of those for whom certain ideas have a great fascination have used them rather for the purpose of superseding revelation, and not explaining, or trying to explain, how we might have obtained all the advantages of faith without faith, Newman has steadily used these scientific ideas in subordination to that master-key of all our being which he has found in revelation. Instead of being diverted from the study of natural law by his profound devotion to things spiritual, that devotion seems to have quickened tenfold his keenness of thought for the natural history of man's mind, which he always rightly regards as the very basis upon which all supernatural teaching is necessarily founded and superinduced." But the author is in error in sup-

posing that Newman was almost the first to look at natural science through the spiritual atmosphere. Any one who is familiar with those theologians of the seventeenth century whose teachings have been epitomized by Principal Tulloch will see that Newman was indebted for his spirit to more than one theological ancestor.

We very much fear that many of our theological writers make too much of the silence of Scripture on some points. No great while since, we heard a very interesting sermon the key-note of which was, the silence of the Lord with regard to certain subjects. The good preacher attempted to show that this silence was voluntary, and determined upon after weighty thought. But the rationalist teachers whom he antagonized could have showed him that the probable reason why the Master did not speak upon such subjects was, that the subjects themselves were scarcely known to any one of his time, and that he himself, as a peasant of Judea, had had no opportunity, speaking of his humanity alone, to gather those experiences and knowledges which were necessary to their discussion. The "Presbyterian Review" for April opens with a very readable paper by Professor Herrick Johnson on "The Silence of Scripture a Proof of its Divine Origin." The article smacks much more of the pulpit and lecture room than of the review. We feel that the value of silence is held much too strongly in some pages of this paper. Dr. Johnson makes account of the silence of the Scripture with regard to the date of the birth of Christ —the month of the year; its silence with regard to the infancy and early life of Jesus; and with regard to his personal appearance. He holds that the silence of Scripture is almost as remarkable concerning Mary, the mother of Jesus, as concerning Jesus himself; and enlarges in the usual way upon the omission, namely, that it was intended to anticipate the dangers of Mariolatry. What Dr. Johnson has to say concerning the silence of the Scriptures as to Mary seems to us to be weak in two directions. This silence could be accounted for by the general position of women in that land and in that day, when they formed but little part of society, and especially had little importance religiously. It is very remarkable that Dr. Johnson should use the following sentence: "Not a single word of affectionate mention appears in all the record as coming either from Jesus or from disinterested biographers telling the story of his life;" but failed to consider that other, "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own." We attach more importance to the Bible's silence as to scientific fact. The fourth instance of silence relates to the reserve of Scripture concerning the future or the unseen world. To our mind, the argument as stated by Dr. Johnson cuts both ways. There is as much force in the silence of Scripture against certain things being true of the future life, as there is strength for the argument for a future life in the broad statements which exist and in the absence of detail. It would seem that the faith of many might have been increased if there had been larger and,

using the word in the best sense, more rational detail. This article would be more effective if it were less rhetorical.

The Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., has a study of "The Salvation Army," which is not very enthusiastic and is yet kindly. In this paper the following interesting statement is made: "To the followers of Wesley it was always something of a puzzle that Calvinists should hold their own in a revival of religion. . . . They have recognized in Mr. Moody some Methodist ways, but not Mr. Wesley's theology. During all these years no Methodist preacher emerged from the Old Connection or the New who could attract and impress the general community." This power of attraction he finds in William Booth, who, in 1861, broke away from Methodist appointments where he labored in the New Connection, and began to work independently among the poor at the east end of London with the assistance of his wife, a woman of considerable mental power as well as spiritual fervor. A very interesting sketch of the rise of the Salvation Army is given, and from this sketch it appears that Mr. Booth is physically and mentally of the clearly recognized evangelistic type. Dr. Fraser has come to believe that the half kindly, half-scornful toleration which the Salvation Army commands for itself in Great Britain is quite likely to be more injurious to its progress than any amount of angry opposition. As a Scotchman, he shows great acumen when he says, "We imagine that the American people have enough of home-born religious vagaries without importing new specimens from across the ocean." There is much food for reflection in his closing sentences: "We cannot but deem self-restraint needful to preserve spiritual fervor from degenerating into frenzy and rant. Surely the more we are with God the more grave we should be in handling his word and work, and the sense of his nearness should calm and chasten us. What has the godly man to do with hysterical feebleness, martial vaporing, or clamorous incoherence?"

The May number of the "Princeton Review" has a very interesting paper on Wordsworth by Titus Munson Cone. It is not very pleasant to find that the author of so many beautiful sentiments was little thought of or little esteemed by his neighbors, the verdict of one of these being, "Mr. Wordsworth was hard upon poor people. He was close in money matters. He used to tell strangers 'We have no poor people here.'" He does not seem to have been remembered with affection by any of his poor neighbors. The verdict is a just one, that Wordsworth's love of man was a purely literary and imaginative passion. He was like many other enthusiasts for humanity who labor for the amelioration of mankind with their noses in the air. That this verdict is not too harsh is shown by the introductory lines to Michael, where he speaks of

> "Shepherds, dwellers in the valleys, men
> Whom I already loved; not verily
> For their own sakes, but for the fields and woods,
> Where was their occupation and abode."

So Mr. Wordsworth loves men for the valleys and not valleys for the men.

George Bancroft defends with much force, in his paper on the "Seventh Petition," the old version as against the new, believing that it ought to be "deliver us from evil," rather than "deliver us from the evil one," as in the Revised. Charles Loring Brace is evidently continuing his theological studies, as he has here a good paper upon "Egyptian Monotheism," in which he traces Monotheism as discoverable in that literature of Egypt which antedates the breakdown into Polytheism. General Howard, whose experience fits him particularly to write intelligently of the Freedmen, shows how they behaved themselves during the war, and gives some very interesting facts as to the great burden thrown upon the military forces and upon the benevolent energies of the South by the emancipation of the blacks and the advance of the Union armies. F. N. Zabriskie, in his essay upon "The Novel of Our Times," accounts for the fact that so many English critics have pronounced Whitman's poetry to be the voice in the wilderness "which foreruns the coming of the true American muse." "The usual fallacy, especially among our English cousins, is in the *a priori* theory that an American literature must be something abnormal—some monstrosity akin to our California pumpkin or our Florida alligators."

The "Forum," which leaped at once into fame and strength, continues to possess in its April and May numbers the strength which it had in its initial issue. We have often had occasion to compliment the editor of the North American upon the timeliness of the contributions which he secures. That compliment must be given in even larger measure to the editor of the "Forum." In the April number David Dudley Field, a veteran who by no means lags superfluous on the field, discusses the relation of the Children and the State, and advances some truths as to the right of the State to protect itself from the evils of immoral homes and of the criminal education of the children. With these rights of the State we have long sympathized, and we believe this subject will command larger attention in the future. Even as the State has the right, under the threatenings of a pestilence, to protect itself by taking the sanitation of a home into its own hands, so the State, considered as the summary of power and executive force for the welfare of the community, has a right to take from immoral and degraded parents the children whose lives are to become by the force of their criminal education a poisonous ferment in the life of the community.

Andrew Carnegie, who is about the best mixture of the business man and of the author in our American life, gives "An Employer's View of the Labor Question." This is one of the best papers which have been called forth by the excitements of the time. We strongly commend it to the attention of all who are interested in the discussion of these labor problems. There are several sentences so judicious and important as to deserve to be quoted: "I would lay it down as a maxim that there is no excuse for a strike or a lock-out until arbitration of differences has been offered by one party and refused by the other." "One great source of trouble arises from the fact that the immense establishments are not

managed by their owners, but by salaried officers who cannot possibly have any permanent interest in the welfare of the working-men. These officials are chiefly anxious to present a satisfactory balance-sheet at the end of the year." He holds that the greatest cause of friction between capital and labor in the largest establishments at the present time is, that the men are not paid at any time the compensation proper to that time. All this means that workmen's wages fall six months after a rise of prices, and sometimes decline six months after a fall. Mr. Carnegie's principle is, that wages should be based upon a sliding scale in proportion to the net prices received for product month by month. This principle is already here and there in successful operation.

Professor Noah K. Davis has a bright paper on "The Negro in the South." There are many excellent suggestions in this paper, though its tone is strictly Caucasian. It is written from the Southern stand-point, but is full of kind words and has some epigrammatic wit, as when, in speaking of the half-dozen colleges established here and there to enlighten the mass of 5,000,000 blacks, he says: "Poor Sambo! he asks for bread and you build him a college; he asks for a fish and you send him a professor."

The final paper in this number is by Rev. David Swing on "The Ideal Church," which he defines to be one "in which piety shall outrank doctrine, the words of Christ outrank all the words of the law-giver, in which the spirit of Christ shall be the proof of the presence of a Christian, in which the variety of thought, interpretation, belief, shall be forgotten by hearts full of toleration, full of friendship; which shall make a brotherhood out of sentiment, character, duty, rather than out of doctrines and definitions." All of which is very pretty; but will Dr. Swing tell us how you can have a duty without a definition. The May number is not equal to the April number, but there are valuable points in President Barnard's paper on "How I was Educated," Rev. John W. Chadwick's on "Cremation," and in Moncure D. Conway's on "Contemporary Supernaturalism."

The April "Andover Review" is not, in its contributed articles, up to the level of the May number, though attention may be well directed to Dr. W. W. Adams's second paper on the "Spiritual Problem of the Manufacturing Towns" in the April number, and to the editorial in the May number, entitled "Is the Orthodox Pulpit Orthodox?" A very thoughtful article deserving study is that by the Rev. R. Alger in the "Unitarian Review" for May. Not often has the theme of the calamities of men and the providence of God been more effectively presented. It is very interesting to us to observe the effect of Mr. Cable's articles on Southern questions on the writers who come from below Mason and Dixon's line. If one were to determine Mr. Cable's importance by the amount of attention which is paid him, one would feel that he had already achieved the dignity of a national force. In the April number of the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," the Hon. I. E. Schumate describes Mr. Cable as a novelist out of his element. The spirit of this paper is

quite different from that from the pen of the Rev. Dr. C. G. Andrews on the Education of the Colored Race.

While the external appearance of the "Universalist Quarterly" is singularly like that of some of the English reviews, we are sometimes forced to feel that its spirit needs to be more thoroughly assimilated to that of the best reviews. We are forced to this reflection in reading the review of Dr. Shedd's work on the doctrine of endless punishment, which does not seem to us to be worthy of the place in which it is found.

The most notable feature in the April number of the "African Methodist Episcopal Church Review" is a paper on the "Ordination of Women" by Bishop Campbell, which strongly favors the ordination of women as deacons, at least.

The "New Englander and Yale Review" gives the leading place to an article by Leonard W. Bacon on John Brown, in which the author declares "that there was absolutely nothing that the state of Virginia could do but find the majestic old hero to be guilty or insane. No government can suffer an invasion of its territory to go unpunished, even when it is undertaken with a permit from Mr. Sanborn." Considering that this statement appears in the New Englander it may be said to be remarkable.

The "North American" attempts to utilize the revived interest in the history of the war. In its May issue the leading place is given to General Beauregard, who writes on the defense of Charleston. This is followed singularly enough by a paper from the pen of Frederick Douglass on "The Future of the Colored Race." The no-name essay relates to the Senate as "our House of Lords." The paper is sharply critical of the present constitution and the undue influence of the Senate. Grand Master Powderly's paper on "Strikes and Arbitration" will increase the public respect for that well-meaning but as yet ineffective head.

There are two papers in the April number of the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" which deserve attention from non-Roman readers. These relate to "God and Agnosticism," by Condè B. Pallen, Ph.D., and "The Church and Cremation," by Bishop Corcoran.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times: Their Diversity and Unity in Life and Doctrine. By GOTTHARD VICTOR LECHLER, D.D., Professor of Theology in Leipsic. Third Edition, Thoroughly Revised and Re-written. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 366, 390. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

FOR more than thirty years the name of Lechler has been known to those who have kept themselves informed respecting the controversies carried on among the Protestant scholars of continental Europe touching theological and biblical subjects, as an able defender of the orthodox side of some of the questions mooted. The treatise now in hand is his chief work. It has been a growth rather than a creation, having first appeared as a prize essay as early as 1850. It was reproduced in regular book form in 1856, and again as described by its title in 1885. From this last and greatly enlarged edition the translation indicated above has been made.

The work is specifically historical, but also incidentally exegetical, and necessarily somewhat controversial, in opposition to the too hasty and one-sided assumptions of Baur and the whole Tübingen school. It is naturally distributed into two divisions—"Books"—devoted severally to the *Apostolic* and the *Post-apostolic* periods, the former making about three fourths of the whole. It treats first of the religious life of the early Church, and then of its doctrines, as delivered by the apostles and written down in the New Testament, and rendered practically effective in the lives of the believers. The beginnings at Jerusalem come first in order, and then the appearance of the Gentile element at Antioch and elsewhere, and out of these come the Jewish-Christian school of St. James, and a little later the Gentile-Christian school of St. Paul, which for a time seemed to be somewhat out of harmony, but evidently only as to incidental details. The extinction of the Church at Jerusalem and the dispersion of its members ended the conflict, and left the Pauline element in the ascendency in all parts westward from Palestine. The disharmony between the doctrinal tendencies of the Jewish and the Gentile Churches, of which the Tübingen school of writers make so much, is shown to have been chiefly in respect to matters of no real importance, while in all that pertains to the substance of doctrine there is substantial unity. It is also shown that the doctrinal unity of the apostolic Churches was always subordinate to, and the result of, the unity of the Spirit in the Christian life and experience of the believers.

In tracing the progress of religious thought in the Church under the immediate teaching of the apostles, the author finds the materials for a system of theological doctrines, clear, forceful, and admirably adapted to the felt wants of the individual and of society. The work is therefore especially valuable as a development of Christian doctrine drawn from the highest and purest sources.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition, Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume IV. Tertullian (Part Fourth), Minucius Felix, Commodian, Origen (Parts First and Second). Pp. 696. Volume V. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix. Pp. 699. Volume VI. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius. Pp. 571. Imperial octavo. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company. 1886.

The above transcript of the common and special titles gives a fair and pretty full and accurate account of the contents of the several volumes indicated. The first portion of Volume IV is the closing "Part" (the fourth) of Tertullian, which, like the other portions of the works of the same Father, is deserving of special attention. So, too, the writings of Origen, begun in this volume and continued in the next, are worthy of the careful study of all who would become personally conversant with the Christian thought of a very considerable school in the early Church. The fifth volume is devoted to "the formation of Latin Christianity in the school of North Africa," of the literature of which the works here represented are the chief authorities. It was by these authors that the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers were developed and formulated, so that in them we have the evidences of the growth of the doctrinal system which has ever since dominated Western Christianity. Volume VI is more fragmentary in its composition, yet it is so methodized as to make up an harmonious unity, presenting a view of the Church at the close of the period of the great persecutions, and of its condition just before the conversion of Constantine, and the consequent nominal Christianization of the Empire, and the dawn of the era of Athanasius, and the eve of the first great catholic Council at Nicæa. These volumes very favorably sustain the character of the series, as expressed by their predecessors. We may accordingly emphasize the recommendation before made to all who would study Church history and the history of the development of "Catholic Orthodoxy," to possess and read these books, and not to be content to know what they contain at second-hand.

Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. III. 12mo, pp. 359. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

Following up their action of two and three years past (see "Methodist Review" of July, 1884,) the professors of Chicago Theological Seminary issue a third volume, made up of discussions of subjects especially current among biblical and theological students and religious teachers generally. Professor (of Old Testament Exegesis) Samuel Ives Curtiss discusses at considerable length "Textual Studies," "Lexicographical and Grammatical Studies," "Exegetical Studies," "Introductory and Historical Studies," "Subsidiary Helps," and "The Revision." That these are able, acute, and broadly learned is assured by the author's reputation; while his liberalism allows him to indulge in speculation, and to make suggestions rather freely. Professor J. T. Hyde discusses Exegetical Theology, in respect to the

New Testament, devoting a chapter each to "New Testament Introduction," "The Text," "Interpretation," and "History." Professor H. M. Scott gives his attention to Church History, the "Fathers," the "Mediæval Church," and the "Reformation and Post-Reformation Church." Professor George N. Boardman reviews with great care and learnedly Dr. H. B. Smith's "System of Christian Theology;" and also discusses the doctrine of Atonement and of Christian Ethics; Professor F. W. Fisk treats of "Homiletics," and Professor G. B. Willcox of "Pastoral Theology." In these several divisions of the work nearly every chief point of theology is brought under notice, sometimes incisively, but more commonly only as indicating facts that show the drift of the religious thinking of the age. As a survey of the progress of theological discussion during the past year, it is at once definite and comprehensive, and an admirable presentation of the movement of the minds of the evangelical Churches.

First Healing and Then Service, and other Sermons. Preached in 1885. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Mr. Spurgeon is certainly a prolific author. He preaches to the thousands that gather in his "Tabernacle," and then his discourses are printed and afterward read by untold thousands all over the English-speaking world. It is not necessary that one should accept all the details of his doctrines in order to detect and appreciate the rich flavor of the Gospel that distinguishes them. The present volume is the tenth annual number of the series. The publishers have done their part of the work in a commendable style.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English, according to the Common Version. Newly Arranged, with Explanatory Notes. By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Biblical Researches," etc. Revised Edition, with Foot-Notes from the Revised Version of 1881, and Additional Notes by M. B. RIDDLE, D.D. 8vo, pp. 205. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. $1 50.

Dr. Robinson's "Harmony of the New Testament," both in Greek and English, has been accepted as a standard. This new edition of the English has undergone a thorough revision by an altogether competent hand, in which it has been somewhat amended and enriched. It will prove an acceptable directory to any who may wish to study the Gospel narrative in the order of its events.

Eventful Nights in Bible History. By ALFRED LEE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Delaware. 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Human ingenuity seems to have achieved some of its most marvelous results in finding out lines of study in biblical matters. In this case we have thirty-two studies or meditations, each founded on some historical event or parable, the scene of each of which is laid in the night-time, the first being the giving of the promise to Abraham, and the last the apocalyptical announcement, "No Night There." It is a good book for quiet reading.

The Treasury of David: Containing an Original Exposition of the Book of Psalms: A Collection of Illustrative Extracts from the Whole Range of Literature: A Series of Homiletic Hints upon almost every Verse, and Lists of Writers upon Each Psalm. By C. H. SPURGEON. Vol. VII, Psalms CXXV to CL. 8vo, pp. 475. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is the concluding volume of a remarkable series, covering the whole book of the Psalms. The design of the work is maintained with great steadiness, and the quality of the performance has improved rather than deteriorated as it has advanced. The whole production is unique in its purpose and method, partly a commentary, partly a series of illustrations, and partly an aid to the right practical uses of the Psalms for religious instruction. Of course, the nominal author has not himself done all this work, though evidently his spirit pervades and animates every part of it, and it is a good spirit. The work is well suited to the wants of the devout Christian reader, a wholesome companion for the closet, and as a help for the pulpit it will prove especially useful in its suggestions of just such thoughts as will minister consolation to those who may be hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. With an Historical and Critical Introduction. By F. GODET, Doctor in Theology and Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Vol. I. Translated from the Third French Edition, with a Preface, Introductory Suggestions, and Additional Notes, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 559. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Godet's Commentaries have been before the public for more than twenty years, and their character has become well known, and their great value is universally appreciated. The third edition, prepared by the author in three volumes, was completed last year—the whole work having been thoroughly rewritten—and from that edition the present translation was made. The author evidently found his heart drawn into close sympathy with the work in hand, and of the many valuable commentaries on this gospel very few seem to have entered so fully into the spirit of the sacred original. The work is, therefore, to be prized quite as much for its spiritual instructions as for its critical and exegetical learning. The prefatory and introductory matter will be found very helpful to all who may wish to really study the work, and not simply read the comments. The appended "Additional Notes," thirty-one in number, and occupying forty-seven pages, are among the most available portions of the whole book. This volume extends over only the first five chapters of the gospel.

Praise Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms (New and Revised Edition). By JOHN DE WITT, D.D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; a Member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. 8vo, pp. 219. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is a second edition of a work which we noticed with decided commendations when first published. The revisions found in the present edition are drawn chiefly from the Revised Old Testament. It is altogether an elegant and valuable production.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Evolution of To-day. A Summary of the Theory of Evolution as Held by Scientists at the Present Time, and an Account of the Progress Made by the Discussions and Investigations of a Quarter of a Century. By H. W. CONN, Ph.D., Instructor of Biology at Wesleyan University. 12mo, pp. 342. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The multitude of books written and published treating of the subject of evolution, in some one or other of its aspects, is marvelous, but because the subject is still an open one each new-comer is pretty sure of attention. As, however, the subject is no longer a new one, any new work, in order to command attention beyond a first glance, must make some real contribution to the discussion, which the work named at the head of these notes attempts to do, not so much by original contributions as by setting in order a summary of the inception, progress, and present status of the whole subject of evolution. It is, therefore, much more a book for the general reader than for the student seeking for original information.

The writer is a new-comer into the arena of the "battle of the books," and he very modestly proposes only to report what others have said or written, and to make out a summary of the case as it stands, though in all such cases the story varies [very much] with the telling.

He appears to be a young man, who has gone pretty thoroughly through the literature of the subject, not simply as a reader, but as a student, and while he evidently endeavors to state every point with judicial fairness, it is manifest that he has his own convictions on all that he declares, which give their coloring to his utterances. As an instructor in an institution owned by and administered in the interest of an orthodox Church, it might be suspected that he would be inclined to one side rather than the other of some of the burning questions that have risen up about this discussion; but it will be found on reading the book that he has not been much, if at all, trammeled by his position and its surroundings. Possibly in avoiding any undue favor toward the "orthodox side" he leans somewhat in the opposite direction. He recognizes the fact that there has seemed to be the possibility of a conflict between evolution and theology in their deliverances on a variety of subjects; this, however, is quietly waved aside, by assuming that evolution has nothing to do with theology, which will not be affected in either direction by the establishment or the overthrow of the theory of evolution—which position may be true or otherwise according to the contents of that theory.

The controversy that has prevailed about this subject has been complicated and intensified by the loose manner in which the term evolution has been employed. No rational person, of even the most limited knowledge of the growth of living things, is unaware of the fact that a form of evolution is the law of life; and only a little observation will lead to the conclusion that it is a universal law. But since there are other laws affecting living things which condition the operations of that law, the true scientist is chiefly concerned to find out not so much its reality as its

extent and its limitations. This is recognized by our author when he declares that "Darwinism itself [under which term he includes all evolution] explains nothing; it simply claims that the [supposed] survival of the fittest varieties would [were it universally operative] slowly give rise to new species." So defined and circumscribed, Darwinism appears as simply a law of growth; and since all the lines of demarkation between species are simply hypothetical, they may be readily passed over in the processes of natural selection. So apprehended, the law of evolution is as little hostile to supernaturalism as is that of gravitation, or of chemical affinities. With Spencer's concession that evolution "does not create, it only modifies," what could be less antagonistic to Christian Theism? The only further questions to be considered, relate to the point of departure from which the forces of nature have developed all living forms that are or have been, and whether or not there are distinct types of beings so separated that one cannot by any possibility pass into another. Respecting the former the theologian has no concern, for he only claims that however the world may be, it is still the work of God. But to the latter he requires an affirmative answer. The discussions of our author relate chiefly to these two questions, which he illustrates with an abundance of details, and it must be conceded that his conclusions, though couched in judicial terms, usually lean to the side of the anti-theologians.

It is freely granted that no theory of biological activity has been propounded that is not, though fortified by an array of facts, also apparently contradicted by other facts, and in every case there are vast ranges of possible evidence that have not been explored. The actual observations of living things, as compared with the whole range of nature, are very limited in extent, and also very superficial. The external aspects, whether of plants or animals, are not reliable as indications of what their descent may have been; and no rational definition can be given of the word "species," except as grounded in an unprovable hypothesis. The records of geology, the world's history written on tables of stone, though covering longer ranges of time and wider varieties of objects than the world of life, are still very incomplete, and often apparently contradictory. The science of embryology attempts to find the history of each animal's ancestry in its processes of prenatal development; and while its discoveries are curious and intensely interesting, they as yet teach quite too little, with any reliable certainty, to lay even the basis of a system of scientific inductions. *Not proven* may be predicated of many, even the most plausible, of the hypotheses by which our learned scientists have sought to explain the phenomena of living things. All this Mr. Conn makes very clear in his statements, but with the ready credence that strangely enough characterizes nearly all of his class, his disposition to believe much more than is proved is manifest; and even when the meagerness of the proofs is conceded, the reality of the hypothesis is still held up as plausible for its beauty, or to be accepted because the learned scientists think well of it.

The application of the theory of evolution to the "Descent of Man" is

that about which the liveliest interest is felt. Here our author's attempted judicial fairness is especially conspicuous; but his success in his endeavors is much less obvious, for in nearly every case the leaning of his statements and conclusions is in opposition to any possible Christian theory of the subject. Setting out with the manifest fact that man in his physical organism is of the same great family with other animals, and not very far removed from some of them, the inference is readily made that he, like them, has come to his present state by a process of evolution. As to his animal nature this may or may not be; and however that may be, it is a matter of very little interest in respect to his spiritual and religious character and destiny. But the quiet assumption, without attempting any proof, that man's distinctive characteristics, reason, taste, and conscience, are only modifications of the animal instincts, so held—we are told, by nearly all of the best scientific writers—appears rather too large a draft upon our "liberality." It is granted that the chasm between the highest forms of bestial instincts and the lowest of human rationality is immense, but not wider than that between a Newton and a Hottentot, and perhaps, presumably, the chasm will be bridged, and the continuity of the scale of being established. But all that depends upon still another important consideration. If the properties of the rational nature are different in *kind* from those of the non-rational instincts, it is conceded that the latter could not be developed into the former. But here the advantage of the doubt is given to the possibilities of the irrational instincts. In all that has, even in the faintest degree, been shown by scientific research, there is no proof that inorganic matter ever originated life in any form; nor that a vegetable ever developed into an animal; nor that merely psychological instincts ever passed over into the distinctive properties of rational beings. To assume that such may be the case, and then to build up a theory of nature upon such an utterly baseless hypothesis, seems to be the net result of the whole theory of evolution as held and taught by the non-theistic Scientists of the present age. "Darwinism," as it is assumed to be by its special adherents and advocates, is a travesty of the genuine philosophy of evolution.

Such an outcome to such an inquiry, carrying with it, as it must, all that is involved in the conflict between theistical faith and soulless naturalism, cannot but be altogether unsatisfactory to any who are not prepared to surrender all confidence in a supernatural religion at the behest of a baseless hypothesis.

Our reading of this book has reminded us anew of what we long ago learned, that beyond almost any others, students of the natural sciences are unfitted by their mental habits for formulating any proper conceptions of spiritual things. Our Scientists are no doubt learned men in their own specialties; but so circumscribed is their field of vision in comparison with the realms beyond nature, that they become narrow-minded, and incapable of higher forms of thinking. And because of their intensity of thought, they also become dogmatic, and intolerant of all beyond their own limited horizon. It may be hoped, however, that the writer whose

work we are noticing has not yet become irrecoverably engulfed in that maelstrom.

As a literary production the volume in hand speaks well for the author's mastery of the literature of his subject, and also for his facility in writing and in book-making. But the substance and outcome of his discussions seem strangely out of harmony with the ostensible design and the name of the institution in which he is an instructor. Perhaps, however, all this must be accepted as the outcome of a process of evolution, a practical demonstration of the "survival of the fittest."

Nature and the Bible. Lectures on the Mosaic History of the Creation in its Relations to Natural Science. By DR. FR. H. REUSCH, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn. Revised and Corrected by the Author. Translated from the Fourth Edition by KATHLEEN LYTTLETON. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 461, 372. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In these volumes we have an exhaustive re-examination, from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic theology, of the various questions that grow out of the relations of the science of nature to the lessons of revelation. The author's position compels him to write controversially, and to give his work something of the character of a plea. The scientists—whose assumed facts and arguments he antagonizes, or at least seeks to set in more correct relations than they have occupied—have announced conclusions, professedly established by adequate inductions, which invalidate some things that it has been assumed are clearly stated in the Bible. These conclusions are by this author called in question, both generally and in detail, and by an immense array of counter proofs it is shown that they are not sustained by any such clear evidence as can be accepted as sufficient for a determination of the cases in hand. At many of the most important points in the discussion it is clearly shown that *not proven* must be the verdict of every unbiased judge. Hypotheses, for which only a very few facts can be shown in proof, are accepted by skeptical scientists as well-sustained theories, and then employed to interpret all related facts into a forced harmony with their requirements.

The important questions respecting the extent of biblical teaching in the domain of natural science receive, at the outset, proper attention, and it is shown that much that science has demonstrated, and which it has been assumed contradicts the teachings of the Bible, is either in harmony with it or else it relates to matters in respect to which the Bible gives no utterance by which any scientific position can be inferred. By confining the two books, Nature and the Bible, each to its proper sphere, nearly all of their apparent contradictions are made to disappear, and that method would have saved the Church from the false position in which it stood in the case of Galileo. The Mosaic history of the creation, our author assumes, is intended to serve the purposes not of science, but of theology, and references to the former are used in it only as needed for the clearer statement of the latter. The apparent difficulties about the six days of creation may be, he insists, obviated by the help of any one of four desig-

nated theories. So the facts and theories of geology, so far as they have been made out, which is much less than is sometimes claimed, present no insuperable, nor indeed formidable, difficulties. Geology is certainly a highly respectable witness in any case where it has reached definite conclusions; but facts and not hypotheses must be heard from. Quite naturally this writer devotes a considerable share of attention to the subject of evolution. In a modified and properly guarded form, he favors that theory as the manifest method of biological activity. Even the notion of spontaneous generation is not necessarily atheistical, perhaps not anti-biblical, and the theory of the development of species, as they now exist, from some one or several original "monerons," as some think is rendered probable by well-ascertained facts, is quite compatible with the biblical account of the creation, and yet even that beautiful theory, which one would like to believe, can be maintained only by refusing to listen to not a few very stubborn objections. It is quite certain that a process of development is in progress among all forms of living things; just how far back it begun and to what extent it may proceed are only subjects of speculation. As matters of fact, however, no proof has ever appeared that inorganic matter can originate life, or that ever a vegetable evolved animal functions, or that irrational psychology ever became rational mind. As to *species*, among living things, nobody can tell what the term means, and therefore all questions about their immutability are simply words without definite meanings, which can determine nothing. Respecting the questions of the unity and the antiquity of the human race, the theory of evolution is decidedly favorable to the usually accepted biblical doctrine of those subjects, which also the facts of natural science generally favor.

We have examined these lectures in connection with our recollections of the treatment of many of the same questions in the volume of Professor Conn, noticed above, and have been struck with their remarkable contrasts, the result, no doubt, of the diversity of the different mental attitudes of the two writers. In Dr. Reusch's eyes biblical statements, or even implications, and also traditional theological data, are strong factors in the solution of the questions at issue, while the findings of science are, by him, submitted in every case to severe re-examinations, and never accepted for more than they prove. Mr. Conn, on the contrary, estimates scientific evidence as of the chief value, nor does he display much care in distinguishing between facts and hypotheses. With him a few facts are sufficient for a very broad and sweeping induction, and having so set up his fiction it is very easy to reverse the process, and deductively force all other phenomena into the factitious category. And this method of argumentation is also manifestly intensified, in its operation in his case, by a prevalent predilection in favor of the findings of science, and a corresponding tendency to depreciate all forms of opposing evidence. While neither of these writers is to be accepted as entirely unprejudiced, the biblicist appears to be the less fatally disqualified than the scientist for rendering a just and probably correct judgment in the case.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic. By ANDREW CARNEGIE. 8vo, pp. 519. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The appearance of this volume, with the name of its author, suggests the thought of Vulcan, at Jupiter's symposium, contesting with Apollo and Hermes for their peculiar honors. Mr. Carnegie is best known through his connection with the iron trade, and more definitely with the Bessemer steel works, though this is not the first time that he has appeared in print. Though a Scotchman by birth, he writes like the wildest kind of Irishman. He is a great admirer of our country and its institutions—domestic, social, and political—and especially its financial capabilities and its material civilization. There is a quiet assumption all along that because there is every-where an increase over other places and times in the wealth and the physical well-being of all classes, nothing more could be desired; and any possible evils liable to result from the changed conditions of labor and the inseparable transformations of society appear not to be thought of. But these roseate views of the millennium of gold and silver, with the enthronement of the steam-engine, may suggest other thoughts to those who have come to believe that "man shall not live by bread alone." In company with this one may read to advantage Froude's "Oceana," with its philosophizing on the possible evils to society of concentrating the people in cities and manufacturing towns.

Massacres of the Mountains. A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West. By J. P. DUNN, Jr., M.S., LL.B. 8vo, pp. 784. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Indian Question" is many-sided, and all its sides are bad. One writer tells about "A Century of Shame," and finds a sympathetic response throughout the country. Another utters the aphorism that "the only good Indians are dead ones," and the sentiment is cheered to the echo by those best acquainted with the subject. Probably both parties are correct as to their facts, and that wrong-doings by both white men and Indians, in their mutual relations, pretty fairly balance each other. This book is, as to its matter, less a partisan plea than a record of facts; the history of Indian affairs in the Rocky Mountains since the acquisition of that region at the close of the Mexican war, with chapters devoted to Mormon wars and massacres. It is perhaps desirable that such history should be written, and Mr. Dunn has certainly done his work creditably. But it is not pleasant reading, and scarcely anywhere else does human character appear to less advantage than in these unvarnished statements of evident facts. The Indian problem was never apparently further from solution than it is to-day, except as the steady course of affairs indicates that it must issue in the not remote future in the utter extinction of the weaker race. Such may be the will of God, but if so that fact is no excuse for the cruelty and injustice of those who make themselves the executioners of his decrees.

Persia: The Land of the Imams A Narrative of Travel and Residence, 1871-1885. By JAMES BASSETT, Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. 12mo, pp. 342. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume, like many earlier ones, is an illustration of the indebtedness of the public to missionaries for the very best kind of information respecting some of the least-known parts of the earth. During his eleven years' residence in Persia as an American missionary, not including three years of absence, Mr. Bassett personally visited large portions of the Persian empire, its villages and open wastes, as well as its principal cities, and so saw the land and the people just as they are, of which he gives lively and evidently trustworthy accounts and descriptions. Though without the sensational element, the narrative is full of life and deeply interesting, though the people and the places are all wretched enough. Eleven of the sixteen chapters are made up of journeyings and residences, the other five are devoted to descriptions of the country and accounts of the government and people, and their political and religious institutions, their multitudinous tribes and races, each a nation of itself, with its own laws and usages, and especially its religion. Altogether the volume is a compact mass of information, at once interesting and substantially valuable.

Historical Lights: A Volume of Six Thousand Quotations from Standard Histories and Biographies, and Twenty Thousand Cross-References. With a General Index, and Index of Personal Names. Chiefly Facts and Incidents. Compiled by Rev. CHARLES E. LITTLE, Author of "Biblical Lights and Side Lights." 8vo, pp. 958. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The compiler of this work claims for it that it is "unique in design," which is true, not as to its purpose, but rather in respect to its methods and construction. It belongs to the numerous and widely various family of helps for public speakers in the form of extracts and quotable passages. These are chosen from a large number of the most reputable English and American authors, and most frequently from historical and biographical works. The selections indicate a wide range of reading, and they are made with good judgment, in respect to both their substance and form. First we have the subjects that are discussed or illustrated in the excerpted paragraphs, arranged in alphabetical order, and to each extract is appended the name of the author and the place in his works where it may be found. As reading matter they are good—not unlike what may be found in the miscellaneous department of a well-conducted family newspaper. For those who affect the use of this kind of helps in public address we know of nothing better.

Hand-Book of Bible Biography. By Rev. C. R. BARNES. A.B. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is just what it professes to be, a hand-book, and, within its prescribed limits, it is a success. It gives, in alphabetical order, a list comprising the name of every person named in the Bible, with a brief indication of who or what was the person named. A very convenient reference book, especially for readers of the Old Testament.

The Student's Modern Europe. A History of Modern Europe, from the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. By RICHARD LODGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Brazenose College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 772. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, $1 25.

Harper's "Student's Series" of histories—ancient, mediæval, and modern—now numbering twenty volumes—constitute a library of historical reading of unequaled value in its specialty, that is, studies for the million. For such as may not wish for so much, a valuable and very available selection could be made, including Philip Smith's "Ancient History of the East," Dr. William Smith's "History of Greece," Liddell's "History of Rome," Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Jervis's "History of France," Hume's "History of England," Hallam's "Middle Ages," "Old Testament History," and "New Testament History," both by Philip Smith; and Lewis's "History of Germany," making together a comprehensive library of first-class writings, and offered at a price that renders them generally available. This last of the series extends over a broad field, and of necessity its mode of treatment is brief and general.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 647. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

The second volume of General Grant's Memoirs brings to a highly satisfactory conclusion the great work that was begun and well advanced in the first. The characteristics of the work as shown in the first volume, and indicated in our notice of it, continue to appear in this, as respects alike the man and the book. Of the former nothing further need be said: the latter is a marvelous production both as a literary work and as a specimen of book-making. The narrative is continued from the point already reached, namely, the surrender of Vicksburg, and proceeds, by way of Chattanooga, to Washington and northern Virginia, the campaign of the Wilderness, the surrender at Appomattox, the march to Washington, and end of the war.

A noticeable feature of the work is its free and easy estimates of the men with whom the writer was concerned, at once discriminating and kindly, in respect to their actions and motives, equally removed from adulation and censoriousness. The book is an invaluable contribution to the history of an important epoch in the nation's career, made by one who was amply qualified for the performance of such a work. As, under God, General Grant became the saviour of the Nation's life in the time of its peril, so in this work he rescues the honor of its Army and its Government from the possibility of future misrepresentations of their motives and actions.

Memoir of Mrs. Edward Livingston, with Letters Hitherto Unpublished. By LOUISE LIVINGSTON HUNT. 18mo, pp. 182. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A charming memoir—much less than a biography—of a woman of rare excellence. It will be chiefly valued by those whose relations to its gifted subject give to it special and personal interest, though it contains some things in which the public will be interested. It is unusually well written.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

English Hymns: Their Authors and History. By SAMUEL WILLOUGHBY DUFFIELD, Author of "The Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns," etc. 12mo, pp. 647. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The hymnody of the Protestant Churches is scarcely second in value to any other department of their literature, whether for precise statements of doctrine, or for effectiveness in creating and directing spiritual impulses. It is also well known that periods of special religious quickening have usually been attended with a wide-spread and lofty outburst of sacred lyrics, and these as they have come down to our times constitute a valuable portion of the Church's literary treasures. Quite naturally, not a few gifted ones have been drawn to the study of this department of religious thought whose appreciative discussions of hymns and hymn writers, and hymnology generally, have come to be an attractive element in our current religious literature. Much of this kind first appeared in the religious newspapers, and portions of such matter have been collected and issued in permanent volumes, of which the one named above is, as to both form and matter, among the very best.

The name of its author, Rev. Mr. Duffield (grandson of the well known and venerable Dr. Duffield of Detroit), is familiar to all who have followed the current discussions of the subject of hymnology in the periodicals of our times as one, and not the least, of the remarkable trio of contemporary hymnologists, of which Dr. Charles S. Robinson and Professor Bird of Lehigh University are the other members—and to these perhaps the name of our own Dr. Nutter should be added—who within the recent past have given such a favorable prominence to their chosen theme. It was certainly something to be desired that Mr. Duffield's essays, scattered among the periodicals, which have displayed such excellent appreciation and correct taste, should be put into a more permanent form, and in a thoroughly digested compilation. His "Latin Hymns and Hymn Writers" had demonstrated his fitness for the work undertaken by him, and also suggested the need of similar work in favor of English sacred verse; and whereas that work was for scholars and specialists, the required volume should be for the many. Accordingly his publishers tell us:

> It was for this reason that the Rev. Mr. Duffield was induced to extend his original plan of treating only the Latin hymns, and to give to English hymnology the benefit of the years of previous study which he had spent upon the sources of our spiritual songs. The volume embraces features of unusual advantage. The author has availed himself of every thing on the subject which was at the disposal of hymnologists, as well as of those less considered, but not less valuable, stores of incident and anecdote which occur in out-of-the-way places, such as biographies and periodicals devoted to other topics. From his extensive reading, and from his special opportunities as an original investigator of the ancient hymns, he has been able to supplement the previous information which has been current, as well as to add many illustrative incidents and suggestions.

In undertaking his task the author found himself embarrassed by the abundance of the materials at hand, of which he determined that he would use fifteen hundred hymns—just, and no more—and in making his

selections he appears to have been compelled in many cases to decide as arbitrarily as in the old-time theory of election and reprobation. His method of arrangement is that of the alphabet and first lines, beginning with Watts's "A broken heart, my God, my King," and ending with Dr. Muhlenberg's "Zion, the marvelous story be telling."

Respecting his matter and the methods employed, the author proposed to give, (1) A critical study of the best English hymns; (2) A series of biographical sketches and estimates of their authors; (3) Incidents and anecdotes respecting particular hymns; (4) Practical illustrations; (5) Literary studies in general hymnology; (6) Antique or foreign derivation of well known hymns; and last of all he gives us an extensive apparatus of alphabetical indexes. But the matters which make up these several divisions, except the last, are not separated into distinct parts, but are found scattered throughout the volume, as occasion was given, in connection with some particular hymn then under notice; and thus instead of formal discussions we have fragments and suggestions scattered through the book as nuggets or gems, whose value seems the greater by reason of the surprise caused by their unexpected discovery. The too hasty declarations of certain critics, whose lack of appreciation of things purely religious disqualify them to judge in the case, that there is very little real poetry in the whole range of the English hymnic anthology, is disproved by abundant illustrations; and the claim of this class of poetry to a place among the stores of classical literature is successfully asserted.

The spirit and temper of the author's criticisms are uniformly amiable and appreciative; "malice toward none" and "charity for all" are every-where his ruling maxims, and his comparisons all fall within the category of good, better, and best. This is especially manifest in his estimates of his chief hymn writers, of which we may give two or three illustrations:

> It was Charles Wesley who sang the doctrines of the Methodists into the hearts of believers, and his evangelical fervor is such that he made all Christendom his parish, in a grander sense even than his administrative brother John. Nothing that John has written reaches the height of "Jesus, Lover of my soul," or the beauty of "Love divine, all love excelling," or the dignity of "I know that my Redeemer lives," and yet these are only portions of the great choral in which his many-voiced genius bore a part.—Page 350.

The author's impartial breadth of appreciation, and his superiority to all bigotry of sect or class, are further illustrated by his estimate of Faber and his hymns:

> These hymns are so truly devotional in spirit, and so eminently appropriate to the religious use of all Christians, that they have been for a long time among the treasures of English hymnody. Editions have been issued from which all those that belong to the exclusive use of the Church of Rome have been (with the author's concurrence) eliminated, and in which the touching and exquisite lyrics which are so dear to all believers have been retained.—Page 307.

Among American hymn writers and compilers our author shows a decided partiality for Dr. Ray Palmer and C. S. Robinson, to the latter of whom this volume is dedicated with recognitions of help received, in the

forms of both example and inspiration, "whose *Laudes Domini* furnished a basis for the present work, and his advice and urgency have promoted its progress."

In his preface the author addresses his extensive audience, the great Christian public, with becoming modesty, and yet with equally appropriate assurance that his offering is not altogether undeserving of appreciation:

> I have the assurance to declare that the authorities which I have consulted, the authors who have given me their confirmation, the hymn books which pave my floor, and the hymnologies under which my desk groans, are inaccessible to the ordinary reader, and largely out of the reach of specialists. *I have been freely laying other people's rose-leaves in my wax, that I may burn a fragrant candle withal in the midst of the obscurity.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Merriam and Company's new and thoroughly revised edition of Webster's Dictionary (Unabridged) is a prodigy of linguistic learning, and itself the best measure of the remarkable growth of the science of lexicography since the publication of Johnson's Dictionary in 1755. Its rivals have given it a severe chase, and each in turn seems about to go beyond it, but simultaneously with the advent of each new-comer a new edition of the "Unabridged" has taken an advanced position, either by improvement of its vocabulary, or else by the addition of some new feature in the form of an appendix. In this last edition we have a new "Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World," in which are given over 25,000 titles of places, in their proper orthography and local pronunciation, and a brief account of each, descriptive and historical, making over a hundred pages of new matter. Though some excellent contestants have appeared in this struggle for the preeminence, the oldest leader still holds the foremost place. We cheerfully accord it the preeminence in our sanctum.

Index to Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Alphabetical, Analytical, and Classified. Volumes I to LXX. Compiled by CHARLES A. DURFEE. 8vo, pp. 783. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

A directory and gazetteer of a great city, giving the streets and squares and places, the name and occupation of each resident, and an account of all public and private institutions, would be a work analogous in purpose and scope to this "Index," which is also a marvel of study, learning, skill, and persistent industry. We personally saw and read the first number of that wonderful "Monthly," which was *new*, but can scarcely be so called with propriety after entering upon its seventy-first volume. With this index, that vast library of seventy great volumes, surcharged with immense stores of valuable reading matter, becomes again available.

The Work of the Holy Spirit. By JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D. (Hand-books for Bible Classes Series.) 12mo, pp. 118. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Elaborate, spiritual, excellent.

German Psychology of To-Day. The Empirical School. By TH. RIBOT, Director of the Revue Philosophique. Translated from the Second French Edition by JAMES MARK BALDWIN, B.A., Late Fellow Princeton College. With a Preface by JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Lit.D. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The psychology which this volume discusses is that of the soul, and not of the brains and nerves, and in this sense it is contradistinguished from the whole body of instincts which belong to merely irrational physical organisms. Its whole field lies within the realm of the metaphysical, or the non-physiological. The author proposes simply to summarize and report the *pro tempore* state of the science of mind, as distinguished from physical science, in living organisms, and to show somewhat historically, and more largely critically, its various aspects, its schools and authorities, as they have appeared during the present century. In doing this, however, his own opinions and preferences are plainly manifested, though not offensively obtruded. The work is well written, and exceptionally well translated, and for the very limited number who can read and appreciate such a work it may be very confidently and warmly commended.

The Railways and the Republic. By JAMES F. HUDSON. 12mo, pp. 489. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The title of this book suggests its character and design, which suggestion is emphasized by the heading of its first chapter, "The Problem of Railroad *Domination;*" and its whole drift is indicated by the opening sentence, "A new social power sometimes rises to immense proportions before its nature and effects are understood." It is throughout a note of warning—a trumpet-blast proclaiming the nation's perils, socially, politically, and financially, from the unscrupulous and grasping policy of the great railroad corporations of the country. The sources of the apprehended dangers are abundantly demonstrated, and the writer's call for cautionary and remedial legislation is justified by facts. The warning is timely, and should be heeded.

A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament. Prepared by CHARLES F. HUDSON, under the direction of HORACE L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." Revised and Completed by EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Seventh Edition Revised. To which is added "Green's Greek and English Lexicon." Crown 8vo, pp. 742. Boston, Mass.: H. L. Hastings. London: S. Bagster & Sons. $2 50.

It is not necessary to say any thing in commendation of a work of such eminent and recognized excellency as is Hudson's "Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament," especially its later editions. For every student of the New Testament it is indispensable, serving both as a commentary and a labor-saving device, and compelling all who may use it to employ the best methods of study. To every young minister we would say, as was said to Peter, changing only one word, "And he that hath no copy, let him sell his garment and buy one."

Kant's Ethics. A Critical Exposition. By NOAH PORTER, President of Yale College. 16mo, pp. 249. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co. $1 25. 2

"Grigg's Philosophical Classics" constitutes a unique and valuable library. First in the series came Kant's "Pure Reason," next Schelling's "Transcendental Idealism," after that came in order Fichte's "Science of Knowledge," and Hegel's "Æsthetics," and now we have Kant's "Ethics." These books are not translations, but condensed *resumés* of the discussions of their several authors. Dr. Porter's work, as will be supposed, is exceedingly well done, and the book will be of great service to the large class of persons who desire a general knowledge of the original with less expense of time and study than the mastery of the complete work would require.

The Choice of Books, and Other Literary Pieces. By FREDERIC HARRISON. 12mo, pp. 447. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

However widely we may differ from Mr. Frederic Harrison's views on all matters that relate to questions of sociology and theology, we cannot be insensible to the keenness of his critical perceptions, and the discriminating correctness of his tastes. The little book here given to the public is a collection of essays, some never before published, and some with which many readers are already acquainted. They are much above the average of their class.

A Comprehensive History of Methodism. In One Volume. Embracing its Origin, Progress, and Present Spiritual, Educational, and Benevolent Status in all Lands. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of "Compendium of Methodism," etc. 12mo, pp. 601. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

In some cases the comparative value of a book lies in the fact that it is less in bulk than some other, and by that rule Dr. Porter's "History of Methodism" may be adjudged among the best of its class. Other histories of the same subject, extending to several volumes, may outrank it as literary productions, but for the use of ordinary readers—nine tenths of those who read at all—the more concise work is no doubt preferable. The "Methodism" whose history is here given is first that of Great Britain, and then that of our own denomination, whose career, from the beginning to the present time, is faithfully recorded, with concise but intelligible accounts of its principal institutions. It is the book for the people.

Atla. A Story of the Lost Island. By Mrs. J. GREGORY SMITH, Author of "Dawn to Sunrise," etc. 16mo, pp. 284. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The fancied existence until nearly the date of the beginnings of Western history, of a vast peninsular region extending westward from Africa, and approaching the New World, which also was the seat of an advanced civilization, has formed the basis of a vast amount of intellectual romance. In that land of dreams and unsubstantial myths this "Story of the Lost Island" is located, with its unstinted wealth of fancied beauty and luxuriance. It is a beautiful thing, and will be read with delight.

Witnesses from the Dust; or, the Bible Illustrated from the Monuments. By Rev. J. N. Fradenburgh, A.M., Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 461. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 60.

The writer of this volume has addicted himself to biblical archæology, and by his studies he has arrived at such a state of proficiency among his specialties that he has been honored with membership in "The American Oriental Society," and in "The Society of Biblical Archæology of London," etc. In this monograph he presents a single phase of his general subject, to wit, the evidential value of the ancient monuments—more especially those of Assyria and Egypt—in respect to the Old Testament records. Though written for general readers, the book contains not a little that even specialists may study to advantage; and by such it will be best appreciated.

Manual Training the Solution of Social and Industrial Problems. By Charles H. Ham. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 403. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this work seems to have made its subject an earnest and continuous study, and to have reached very definite, perhaps also one-sided, conclusions. He is a thorough believer in the steam-engine and all it represents; to wit, skilled labor and material civilization based on wealth. These are his gods, and evidently he has faith in them, and he may be satisfied with the fact that he lives in an age and among a people who—as were the Ephesians in respect to Diana—are worshipers of his divinities; though there are still a few heretics who refuse to worship the golden image. There are grave reasons to doubt whether the "Social and Industrial Problem" can ever be satisfactorily solved in a community of artisans, though, apparently, England is making the experiment. The author has devoted very great labor to his book, and however we may dissent from his philosophy we must praise his performance.

In the Golden Days. By Edna Lyall. 18mo, pp. 207. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A romance, aiming to "describe the gradual growth of a character," located in the England of two centuries ago, in which a number of well-known historical characters are pressed into service. It is a fairly well-written production.

The Clerical Library.—*Platform and Pulpit Aids.* 12mo, pp. 286. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The unusual indefiniteness of the title of this volume is compensated for by the clearness of statement made in the brief "Preface," which says, "It contains speeches from the most eminent Christian orators of the present day and recent times, and selections of fresh, pithy, and sometimes humorous illustrations." The authors drawn upon are largely, but not exclusively, of the Church of England, with a very slight infusion of matter by American authors. The book is divided into five departments —Home-work, Foreign Missions, Bible Distribution, Temperance, and Miscellaneous. The selections are made with good judgment and taste.

Probation and Punishment. A Rational and Scriptural Exposition of the Doctrine of the Future Punishment of the Wicked, as Held by the Great Body of Christian Believers of all Ages, with Special Reference to the Unscriptural Doctrine of a Second Probation. By S. M. VERNON, D.D., Author of "History of Revelation," etc. 12mo, pp. 293. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. $1 25.

The purpose of this work appears to be simply to restate, in an order adapted to its present requirements, the much-debated question of the future possibilities of those who go out of this life without having secured the gift of eternal life. That the array of proofs in favor of the traditional beliefs is so ample that their conclusions would not be questioned except that they are not acceptable is very certain; and to doubt an argument for dogmatic reasons is not allowable. The method of discussion is calm, forcible, and dispassionate, and the whole spirit of the work such as the subject requires.

Forewarned—Forearmed. By J. THAIN DAVIDSON, D.D., Author of "Talks with Young Men," etc. 12mo pp. 286. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Under the above indefinite and undescriptive title a preacher who had before won a good name by his "Talks with Young Men" here presents twenty decidedly good sermons, admonitory, instructive, and cautionary. They are decidedly readable, and wholesome in moral and spiritual tone.

Paths to Wealth. By JOHN D. KNOX. Printed for the Author. 12mo, pp. 538. Topeka, Kansas.

The title of this book fails to properly characterize it, unless the "wealth" to which it points out the "paths" is taken in the larger and better sense in which Scripture associates it with the honor that comes from God. It abounds with valuable lessons for the conduct of life, in which to achieve success for both worlds.

Moments on the Mount. A Series of Devotional Meditations. By Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D., Minister of the Parish of Innellan. Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This book is well described by its title. The "Meditations," each having a text of Scripture prefixed, number one hundred and eight, averaging a little over two pages. They answer very well to their professed design.

The Conflict Ended; or, Evil Forever Vanquished. By Rev. JOHN COOPER. Author of "Science and Spiritual Life," etc. 12mo, pp. 155. Edinburgh: Macniver & Wallace.

This is evidently the work of an independent and solitary thinker, with a good share of both erudition and mental acumen. The outcome of his speculations does not seem to be of very much value.

An Aramaic Method. A Class Book for the Study of the Elements of Aramaic. By CHARLES RUFUS BROWN. Part I, pp. 112, Paradigms. Part II, pp. 96. Elements of Grammar.

A convenient manual, answering to a confessed need.

East Angels. A Novel. By CONSTANCE FENNIMORE WOOLSON, Author of "Anne," etc. 16mo, pp. 591. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Barbara's Vagaries. By MARY LANGDON TIDBALL. 18mo, pp. 175. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Salkinson's Hebrew New Testament, an 18mo volume of 493 pages, 1885, beautifully printed, is a work of much interest, both as a literary curiosity and as a text-book in Hebrew. It is kept on sale in most of the chief cities of Europe, and may be obtained in this city of Rev. Jacob Freshman, pastor of the Hebrew Christian Church.

The Union of the Churches. By JOHN H. BRUNNER, D.D., Member of Holston Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Sold by the Author, Hiwassee College, East Tennessee. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

This book is a plea for the organic reunion of the two principal Methodisms, which having been one became two in 1844. It is partly historical, telling how the separation came about, and what have been the relations of the two bodies while standing apart, partly sentimental, with the beautiful idea of unity as the inspiration, and partly an estimate of economical considerations, in favor of a better use of men and money. We are not especially charmed with the notion of a coming together of elements which when united fell apart by reason of mutual antagonisms, incompatibilities of temper, which to this day exist, though less active than formerly. It is certainly "good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity," and to secure that end a little *separateness* may be a desirable condition.

The Simplicity that is in Christ: Sermons to the Woodland Church, Philadelphia. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

These are live sermons; suggestive because full of thought, a little out of the usual method, as is the author, and for the same cause positive and assertive, for, though without offensive egotism, he is decidedly egoistic. We can heartily commend them to all readers of sermons.

The Two Books of Nature and Revelation Collated. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va. 12mo, pp. 213. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A volume made up of six essays or studies, along the line of the relations of natural and revealed religion. The subjects are Nature and Revelation, Primeval Man, Evolution, the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Pentateuch, Providence and Prayer. The writer is of the ultra-conservative school, holding fast blindly to thoroughly disproved theories, by doing which a great injury is done to the truth of revealed religion. In another place we have noticed the narrowness of mind of many distinguished scientists; we regret to find a corresponding lack of breadth among the champions of religion.

Anger: Its Nature, Causes, and Cure. By Rev. W. H. POOLE, LL.D., of Detroit Conference, Michigan. 16mo, pp. 163. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A discussion with a moral.

Two Arrows. A Story of Red and White. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD, Author of the "Talking Leaves," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 289. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Stories of the mountains; frontier rambles and hunting excursions, with whites and Indians, men and boys, squaws, dogs, and ponies.

George Eliot and Her Heroines. A Study. By ABBA GOULD WOOLSON. 12mo, pp. 177. New York: Harper & Brothers.

No doubt George Eliot's works are pervaded by a deep and subtle philosophy, to detect and illustrate which is the purpose of this volume. The division of the matter is into George Eliot as a Literary Artist; Her Personality and Opinions; Studies of Woman's Character; Purposes of Her Plots; Is Real Life Responsible for the Failures she Portrays? Causes of her Despondent Tone; Her Standard of Ethics; Her Religion of Humanity; The Novelist of the Future. Each of these subjects is discussed with force and acumen, and while it is not necessary to accept all that may be claimed, it will pay to carefully consider what is said.

Joseph, the Prime-Minister. By Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1 50.

Dr. Taylor's previous volumes, each portraying the character and restating the history of some distinguished scriptural hero, has insured a welcome for this one, the seventh of the series. The story of Joseph is at once a domestic tale, an idyl, and a treatise on political economy; and best of all, it is the presentation of the highest personal excellences among the most trying conditions. All who have read the former volumes will expect much from this, and will not be disappointed.

The Logic of Introspection; or, Methods in Mental Science. By Rev. J. B. WENTWORTH, D.D. 12mo, pp. 447. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

An original and elaborate production. We shall review it at length in a future number.

The Camp at Surf Bluff. (Up-the-Ladder Club Series. Round Four, Vacation. 12mo, pp. 304. By EDWARD A. RAND.

The Man with the White Hat; or, The Story of an Unknown Mission. By C. R. PARSONS. 12mo, pp. 211. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Red-Letter Days. Anniversary Concerts and Entertainment Exercises. 12mo, pp. 91 (paper). New York: Phillips & Hunt.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—51. *Stories of Provence.* From the French of Alphonse Daudet. By S. L. LEE.—52. *'Twixt Love and Duty.* A Novel. By TIGHE HOPKINS.—53. *A Plea for the Constitution of the United States.* By GEORGE BANCROFT.—54. *Fortune's Wheel.* By A. INNES SHAND.—55. *Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister,* 1832–1852. — 56. *Mauleverer's Millions.* A Yorkshire Romance. By T. WEMYSS REID.—57. *What does History Teach?* Two Edinburgh Lectures. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE.—58. *The last of the MacAllisters.* By Mrs. AMELIA E. BARR. — 59. *Cavalry Life.* By J. S. WINTER.—60. *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D.—61. *Hurrish.* By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS.—62. *Irish History for English Readers.* By WILLIAM STEPHENSON GREGG.—63. *Our Sensation Novel.* Edited by JUSTIN H. MCCARTHY, M.P.

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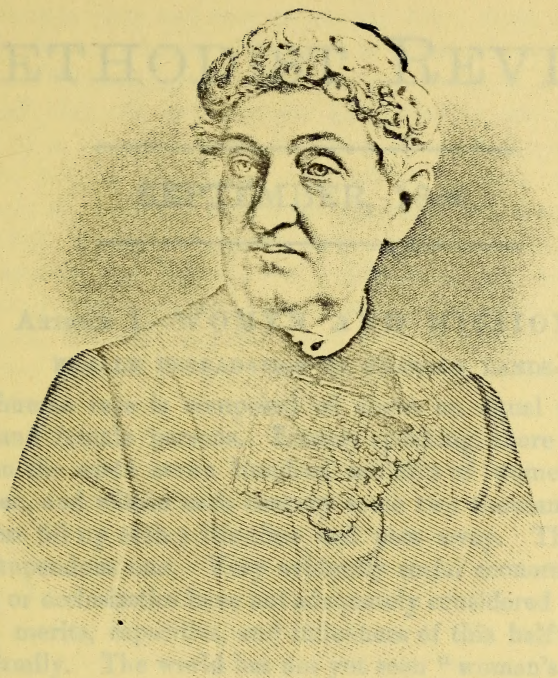

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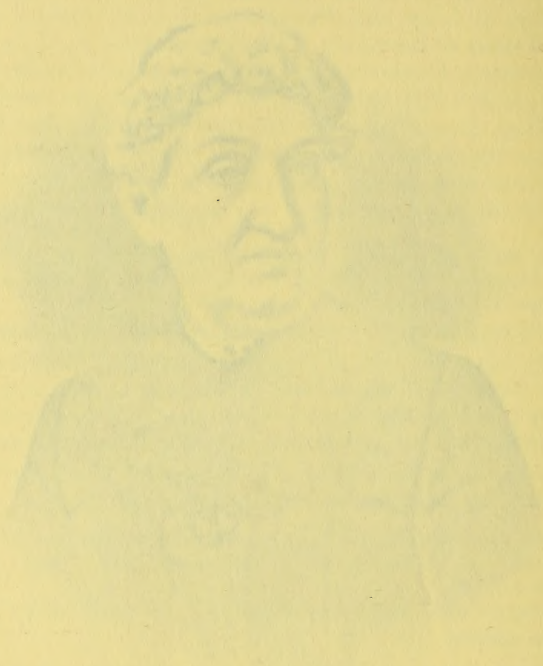


METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1886.

ARTICLE I.—WOMEN AND MISSIONS.

FEMALE DEGRADATION IN HEATHEN LANDS.

THE human race is composed of about an equal number of male and female persons. Loosely speaking, there are therefore on the earth seven hundred millions of women and girl-children, and within each century some two thousand millions of these fill up each a life-time and pass away. The thought is a stupendous one. Very evidently social economists, legislators, or ecclesiastics have not adequately considered the special needs, merits, capacities, and influences of this half of the human family. The world has not yet seen "woman's hour."

It is a dreadful story, this, with which we have already grown most sadly familiar, of the degradation, the wrongs, and the sufferings of women in non-Christian lands. The illustrations of their misery are so multitudinous and so monotonous that one is bewildered to select from them.

The relation of marriage, which under the ennobling influences of Christianity has been exalted almost to a sacrament, presents throughout the entire history of non-Christian peoples a lamentable record of violence and of sin. The old Maroons of Jamaica and the present Thibetans of Asia furnish us with samples of peoples without a substitute for a form for marriage in the one case, or any judicial sanction of it in the other. The Hassaniyeh Arab recognizes a "three-quarter" marriage—of legal obligation only three days out of four—while in Mocha all marriages are temporary. In Thibet, wives are "pawned" and loaned, and in parts of China they

are hired to other men. The communal marriage—wherein all the women are married to all the men, as recommended in the Platonic Republic—is by no means unknown to history, though it imbrutes men and women, shocks every sense of decency, and at best graduates childhood, as beasts in an agricultural pen. "Wife-capture," wherein women have been stolen, speared, clubbed, or otherwise half-killed in the process, has been, or is, too wide-spread to allow of even the enumeration of the peoples who have practiced it. From Australia to Kamchatka, from the Eskimo of the north, on through Brazil and Chili, to the Patagonian of the South; or afar, where the Polynesians, the Fijians, the Philippines, and other Pacific Islanders preserved the custom; among Caucasians, Arabs, and Negroes, the story has the same hue, and makes one blush to know himself a man. Polygamy and polyandry, whether in Thibet, Ceylon, New Zealand, the Aleutian Archipelago, among the Cossacks or the Orinocos, afford little relief to these wretched chapters of human life. We close our eyes to a record of systematic debasement and oppression, which compels us to pity even when we may not relieve.

Girl-life, among more than half the population of the globe, seems the cheapest thing in the dust-bin of human possessions. A missionary lady in China tells of twenty-five women between thirty and sixty years of age, personally known to her, among whom were born sixty male and one hundred and twenty female children. Of these, twenty-one males and twenty-three females lived till ten years of age. Eight males and thirty-one females were destroyed at birth. Another missionary lady in the same country knew of one hundred mothers who had destroyed one hundred and fifty-eight female children; forty, who had destroyed seventy-eight, and six who had destroyed eleven.

The motives which induce the practice are too many to admit of enumeration. If a mother has not borne sons, she often destroys all her female offspring that she may the sooner hope to have a son. If she have sons, two or three girls may be allowed to live, but any thereafter will be smothered at birth, because of the expense of rearing them, or from some more oblique cause.

The government of India, in 1871, investigated the crime of

infanticide in certain provinces, among the Rajputs. The report of the magistrate reads like a romance set on fire of hell. It contains statements like these:

> The Baboos of Bhudawur Kalan live in ten villages, in seven of which were found one hundred and four boys and one girl. Their other villages are said to contain two girls. These villages are notorious for Suttee monuments, and their tanks are said to be paved with infants' bones. . . . The Baboos of Nagpore live in twenty-seven villages. In the nineteen visited were found two hundred and ten boys and forty-five girls. The Baboos of Purtabgarh live in five villages. In the two visited were found thirty-one boys and one girl. One girl is said to exist in their other villages. The Baboos of Asagpoor preserve their old reputation. They have twenty boys, and no girl has ever been known in their village.

The explanation that these men do not marry in their own tribe implies that they can secure all the wives they want from other tribes, though the women and their parents know that girl-children will be thus disposed of. But this only emphasizes the low estimate in which infant girl-life is held. The government of India has absolutely prohibited infanticide, yet there is a regular system secretly maintained for the purpose of concealing it which so far baffles detection, that there is scarcely a village in India, if indeed there be a hamlet, whose shrine is not desecrated by this form of murder.

The tendency to degrade women has not been checked by the civilizations of Eastern nations. Nine hundred years before Christ, Manu, the reputed author of the Hindu code, collected and systematized the law current in his time, and this coming to be accepted as authority in jurisprudence and religion, directed the tendencies of the nation, checked growth by creating an undue veneration for antiquity, and degenerated the family by assigning to woman a low place in society and in religion. Says Manu:

> Day and night must women be made to feel their dependence on their husbands. . . . Let not a husband eat with his wife, nor look at her eating. . . . Women have no business to repeat sacred texts. . . . No sacrifice is permitted to a woman separately from her husband, no religious observance, no fasting.

Women of high caste were then unveiled in public, were to some extent educated, and under given circumstances were

allowed to choose their own husbands. While other things have entered into the case, such as the Moslem invasion of which we will presently speak, yet it remains, that the seeds of disrespect for woman, which resulted in her social degradation, were abundantly present in the statutes of this so-called Hindu civilization. And we may add incidentally, so sure is the vengeance which a just Creator takes on the oppression of the weak, and so inexorably has he united the fortunes of the men and women of the world, that it has not yet occurred in human history but that the degradation of woman has necessarily resulted in the deterioration of the entire structure of society. In every land where woman is thrust down she drags man down after her.

If there was that in Hinduism which involved steady decline in the social status of its women, there was that in Mohammedanism which precipitated it. Nineteen centuries later than Manu (A. D. 1000) the Moslems invaded India, and an alien race became the paramount power. They introduced the rude manners of an unbridled soldiery, invaded the sanctity of the Hindu's home, and took from his side his betrothed daughters or the mother of his children. Among the classes able to keep their women in zenanas, enforced seclusion followed, and among others, a conventionalism which required absolute non-intercourse from all social approach between women and men except within a very limited range of near relations.

With zenana seclusion came early marriage and the infant betrothal, and for the same reason. The census of the North-west Provinces of India showed in 1881 no less than 280,790 married girls under nine years of age, and over a million between the ages of ten and fourteen.

The early marriage brought terrible evils in its train. There was increased risk in child-bearing, stunted growth of mind and body, separation of the girl from parents and family at a tender age, impossibility of moral and religious training, wifehood while not fitted for companionship, and motherhood while not mature enough to sustain or to educate children. Well may Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar say:

> It is the greatest evil in India. It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expanse of which it is capable. It has degraded and keeps in a

degraded condition, the race. It is a most disastrous barrier to the progress of Christianity and of every thing good. It lowers the standard and comfort of the domestic circle. It panders in a most unnatural way to passion and sensuality. It raises the rate of mortality in the family and society generally, and diminishes the general interests, pleasures, and innocent amusements of the family circle. It injures their present and their future, robs them of their just rights, their brightest jewels, and most valued possessions.

The early marriage and the infant betrothal implied child-widowhood. Of 124,000,000 females in India, according to the government census of 1881, there were 21,000,000 widows, 78,000 of whom were under nine years of age, 207,000 under fourteen, and 382,000 under nineteen, or, roundly, 600,000 widows, nearly all of whom ought never to have been married.

The Hindus of Calcutta alone counted 58,000 wives and 55,000 widows. From a variety of motives it came to be recognized in the land that widows should not remarry. Originally it was not so. Outcast, deserted, and superseded women, as well as widows, were formerly allowed to remarry. But among the higher classes this has long been prohibited, and the British government has, through its courts, acknowledged the binding force of both the infant betrothal and the prohibition of remarriage of widows. Hence the land is full of the groanings of child-widows.

Another link in this concatenation of abuses is the illiteracy of the female portion of the population. Female education can be effectually promoted only after the abolition of the early-marriage system. Women in India have been kept in illiteracy for a thousand years! In the census already alluded to for 1881, it was shown that in the North-west Provinces alone, over 21,000,000 girls and women were in absolute illiteracy; and among a total population of 125,000,000 in the country not over 70,000 were able to read and write.

It must not be supposed that the Indian women are necessarily incompetent, nor that the country does not afford illustrations of natural mental ability in women. Says Mr. Hunter, President of the Education Commission of 1882:

As a matter of fact there always have been women of great accomplishments and strong talents for business in India. At this moment one of the best administered native states has been ruled

during two generations by native women, the successive Begums of Bopal. Many of the most ably managed of the landed properties or zemindaries of Bengal are entirely in the hands of females; while in commercial life, women conduct through their agents lucrative and complicated concerns. . . . The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen, and it seems to last longer in life than those of men. This, though the idea of giving girls a school education as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India until quite within our own day.

Yet another thing to guard against is the fancy that woman thus depressed and degraded has no influence. In all lands women are the conservators of religion, whether that religion be true or false. Hon. Justice Muthusami says of their general influence, "The women of India rule the men."

Still further let us guard against the notion that these women are indifferent to their depressed state. It is in a vein of sad satire that they say: "We are cats, we are cows; how should we know? As we came into the world we go out of it; all we know is, we die like sheep."

"The life we lead is just like that of a frog in a well," said a Hindu zenana woman. "Every-where there is beauty, but we cannot see it."

"Any life is better than this," says another heathen woman; "even an animal, a worm, is less miserable."

Turning once more to China, we find the illiteracy of females not the same in all parts of the empire. In North China the estimate is, that in sixty or seventy out of every hundred families of wealth the females are able to read. "I have found the wife of a Chi-fu of Taiyuen," says a missionary, "to use all the fingers of both hands in counting up the books she had read, and that means learned by heart."

In Shantung, however, not more than one woman in five hundred could read. Possibly a fair estimate for even this literary nation would be, taking the whole of China proper, that one woman in three can read.

There is one other feature of Chinese society which ought not to be wholly unnoticed, even in this hasty allusion to the more prominent ills which the Chinese woman is heir to—namely, domestic slavery. It is not easy to write with accuracy about the girl-slavery of the Chinese Empire. A reliable writer "knows of girls disappearing," or, as it was said, "gone

to spend a month with friends." Sometimes pressure for money comes on the family and the daughter is *pawned;* sometimes it is said plainly that her father has taken her to a distant city to sell her. Sometimes she is handed over to the purchaser by indirect methods. The girl is at play and is "kidnapped," and no tidings of her can be obtained. After a month it turns out that her elder brother, or the head of the house, and therefore the disposer of the liberty of the females of the family, was in debt, and the "kidnapped" girl had been sold, and delivered according to previous arrangement.

WOMEN'S MISSIONS TO WOMEN.

It was in 1834 that Dr. David Abeel, one of the earliest missionaries to China, being in England for rest, told of the degradation of the women of the East, and drew up an appeal to the Christian women of Great Britain that resulted in the organization of "The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East," which society, after half a century, has efficient missions in almost all parts of the non-Christian world.

When Dr. Abeel reached the United States he met a company of women in the parlors of that eminently practical saint, Mrs. T. C. Doremus, in New York city, and made an appeal to the women of America as he had done to those of Great Britain. It was not till after twenty-five years that—what Mrs. Doremus called "a seed long buried"—this address of Dr. Abeel gave the impulse for the organization—and that in the Doremus parlors too—of the "Woman's Union Missionary Society of America," the mother-society of those whose work we have now to pass under review.

"What are you women going to do when the war is over?" asked one Christian woman of another, while a few years ago both were engaged in the great activities of the Sanitary Commission. There was little thought with them, or with any one, that God had women in training then for much greater work elsewhere. They became experts in organization and administration on a large scale. Vast and independent responsibilities were upon them. They grew under them and up to them, and at the close of the war were as a giant waked out of a dream. The Providence which had been enlarging their capacities and developing their resources, had, during those

same years been preparing a new field for their exercise by most marvelous changes in political, social, and religious affairs in Asia, through which were afforded hitherto unknown opportunities for reaching the women of the East by the women of Christendom. None but a very dull student could fail to discern the relation between this agency, flushed with its triumphs in camp and hospital, and the Providence which set before them this new "open door." Nor were they slow to enter it.

Within less than a decade, occurred the most extensive and rapid organization of the religious activities of Christian women that ecclesiastical history records, and their achievements have become the characteristic feature of the missionary work of the last quarter of a century. Following the admirable "Woman's Union Missionary Society," large denominational organizations of women for this foreign work sprung into existence in the following chronological order: The Congregationalist Woman's Board (1868), the Methodist Episcopal (1869), the Presbyterians (1870), the Baptist Missionary Union (1871), the Protestant Episcopal (1872), the Reformed Dutch Church (1875), and the Lutheran (1879).

The two Congregational women who met to pray weekly for eight months before venturing to make a call to consider the propriety of an organization of a Woman's Board, though unnamed, and the nine women who met in Boston to organize the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will be memorable in future ecclesiastical history. The Congregationalist women led off with a constitution which accorded them large responsibility in the management of their work at home and abroad, the Secretary and Prudential Committee of the American Board being an advisory committee to whom the missionary candidates selected by the ladies were referred for appointment. The Methodist Episcopal women followed with an organization, not auxiliary to the Parent Society, though pledged to work in harmony with it, with a separate and wholly independent treasury, guarded from dangerous repletion by a restriction which left the ladies none but wholly supplemental methods of raising funds. They might take no public collections in the churches. Their candidates were to be approved by the Parent Society, which retained a veto

power over its appropriations. Its agents on any foreign field were to be subject to the Church and missionary authorities on that field. In later years they have become subject to the appointment of the Bishop as component parts of the local Conference. The initial power to "appoint" to any field remains with the ladies here, as well as the right to determine the fields they should occupy, and the number and character of agents to be employed, the ladies being held *de facto* responsible for the conduct of their work both at home and abroad.

The Baptist ladies have only independent responsibility in their home management, while the entire direction of their work in foreign parts is left with the committee of the Baptist Missionary Union. Nor is theirs exclusively a work among females. Besides supporting boys' schools, they support much of the educational work in the foreign fields of their parent "Union." To some this would seem a more felicitous adjustment than that of the Methodists, and there are special reasons why in some parts, as in Burmah, it is not necessary to separate the sexes in school and society; but we note the fact, that the Methodist Episcopal ladies, who have more exclusively woman's work, and greater responsibility in the administration of their affairs, have raised much larger sums of money than have the Baptist women, with mixed work and the absence of responsibility in foreign parts. Comparing the income of the two societies for the first seven years of each, the Methodist ladies raised fifty per cent. more than their Baptist sisters, and extending the comparison over fourteen years, they raised one hundred per cent. more.

So far as conflict between so largely independent bodies as that of the Woman's Society and their Parent Board in the Methodist Episcopal Church goes, experience shows that no greater friction has arisen in the course of sixteen years than is common to all societies within the circle of their own separate administration, and none which Christian courtesy and good sense have not enabled them to adjust.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

As to the general administrative capacity and judgment with which the ladies of these several societies have conducted their affairs, a sort of consensus of Christian judgment is expressed

in a report adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after an experience of seven years with these Women's Boards, in which they said:

> It is our unanimous opinion that what God has thus raised up, and so signally prepared and sanctioned, ought to be encouraged to do its own chosen work in its own way.

The American Board also expressed a discriminating judgment when it said:

> The wise economy, the prudent management, and the results achieved by Women's Boards may well challenge the admiration and the emulation of the other societies.

Among the gravest responsibilities assumed by Missionary Boards is that of authorizing expenditures on anticipated income. If they fail of their estimated resources, the result is indebtedness. It demands, therefore, the most careful and experienced exercise of judgment to avoid embarrassing the work abroad or involving the society at home. The Congregational Woman's Board is relieved of this responsibility, because they raise their money one year and expend it the next. They cannot have any debt. The Wesleyan (British) Missionary Society made a temporary experiment of this kind, but soon returned to the usual practice of the societies. It is to the credit of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that while they have authorized expenditure on estimated income, events have always justified their judgment. Accepting foreign responsibilities to the verge of their boldest faith, they have never yet closed a year *with a dollar of indebtedness*, while they have advanced their income from a very small beginning to $200,000 in 1885: a sum not equaled in the annual receipts of the Parent Society during the first thirty-two years of its existence, a period double that of the history of this society.

Incidentally a question so often suggested deserves a passing word. It is sometimes asked, "Is not the income of the Women's Societies detrimental to the receipts of the Parent Boards?" Perhaps no better answer can be given than a statement of Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D., Senior Foreign Secretary of the American Board. What he states is, *mutatis mutandis*, true of all the denominational societies. He says:

Looking at the question on the financial side alone, the work of the different Woman's Boards has been of greatest value. Exclusive of the two great bequests, the receipts into the treasury of the American Board from donations and legacies for the last ten years were between four and five hundred thousand dollars in excess of the previous decade, and this difference was due to the Woman's Boards. From them was received over one million dollars. Admitting that one third, or even one half, of this sum would have come into the treasury of the American Board had there been no such organization, and it is still true that the advance in the aggregate receipts for the last ten years was due to the Woman's Boards.

Constructing a similar argument for the Methodist Episcopal Church, if the term be extended to the sixteen years of the existence of the Woman's Society, we would show that the Parent Society's receipts have advanced within this period over four millions of dollars as compared with the preceding sixteen years, though those were inflated by war currency. If, following the American Board, we add the income of the Woman's Society to that of the Parent Board for these later sixteen years, it would show an aggregate advance of eighty per cent., or almost five millions of dollars, on the preceding sixteen years. Whether this is absolutely fair as an argument or not, there can be little doubt of the aggregate increase of missionary receipts because of the existence of our Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. It must also be borne in mind that these ladies are supporting much work previously cared for by the Parent Board.

The ladies have exhibited both literary ability and business enterprise in the conduct of their magazines and other literature. The periodicals of most of the societies have been almost if not wholly self-supporting, and some are sources of revenue. The paper published by the ladies of the Baptist Board transferred a surplus in 1885 from its periodical account to the secretary's salary account of $1,247. "Life and Light," published by the Congregational Woman's Board, has sustained itself from the start. The "Heathen Woman's Friend," of the Methodist Woman's Society, has not only paid its total cost from the beginning, but has supplied a large revenue which has been expended, in part, in the publication of gratuitously circulated literature calculated to convey information and arouse an interest among the women

of the Church. During last year alone it furnished the funds for the publication of 1,800,000 pages of such literature, and also for the current expenses of a vernacular paper in India for circulation among women in the zenanas. After granting $2,293 50 for the above purposes in 1885, it transferred to investment account $1,850. For years it has furnished funds for similiar purposes, yet it has an accumulated fund of $10,600, invested in bonds and banks.

The business tact and judgment of the Methodist women have been exhibited in all departments, but our brief space only admits the noting of the fact that they have collected over a million and a third dollars, and have over two hundred thousand dollars' worth of real estate in India, China, Japan, Mexico, South America, and Bulgaria.

Much has been said in discussing missionary economics about the gratuitous services of the ladies of the several Boards, and perhaps too much emphasis has been sometimes placed on the fact that they had only unsalaried officers. This is not the place to discuss the question of unpaid official services, in benevolent societies in general, and missionary societies in particular. Almost all the larger missionary organizations have judged it best to secure paid secretaries, with the notable exception of the Church of England Missionary Society. Even the ladies' societies have not always found it possible to secure the most efficient agents without larger or smaller, direct or indirect, financial support being given to them.

While all this is true, it does not lessen the appreciation due, and accorded, to the magnanimity, self-sacrifice, and holy charity of these unsalaried women, who for the cause they hold dear, and for the love of their divine Lord, have gladly accepted care and responsibility, hardship and toil, that they might arouse their sisters at home to sympathy with their sisters beyond the seas.

ONE AMONG MANY.

A typical representative of these Methodist women is the "elect lady" whose portrait furnishes the frontispiece to this number of the "Review." A Methodist of Methodists, "to the manner born," she brought to this society, as its first and, till now, its only metropolitan secretary, an esoteric appre-

hension of the spirit and aims of her Church, acquired in the associations of the home of her father, the senior Dr. Thomas E. Bond, and a full understanding of the purpose and plans of a missionary management with which her husband was associated from its inception, till death made room for his son to become his successor. We may say in passing, the chariot that halted for Skidmore, Janes, and Durbin bore from our missionary councils in 1876 a trio not easily equaled—eminent for the practical business ability and judgment of the first, the devout wisdom and zeal of the second, and the creative power and prevision of the third.

In her own right also Mrs. Skidmore represents her associates. Practiced for more than thirty years in the management of noble charities like that of Five Points Mission in New York city, and disciplined to appreciate the best type of spiritual life as a class-leader in the Church of her choice through a third of a century, she was fitly furnished to sympathize with those whom she was to join in sending into the maelstrom of heathenism, and to encourage by her example that *abandon* of consecration and fervor of faith which have so signally marked this movement.

OPERATIONS AFIELD.

Twenty-five years ago it was a question what Christian women could do in heathendom. So narrow was the apparent sphere of operations for them, and so little had they been allowed independently to attempt, that it was held in many quarters that "the addition of this class seemed to add nothing to the working force of the mission. . . . A little work already begun by married women was put into the hands of the unmarried. Nothing new was attempted. There was no lengthening of lines and strengthening of stakes." Some pronounced it "the greatest folly of modern missions" to send those women into the field.

In truth, there was unequal demand because of the unequal social relations in different quarters of the globe. It was not true, for instance, in Northern China, as it was in Southern China, that no evangelistic work among women could be done except by women. In 1879 Rev. Mr. Richard, of the English Baptist Mission, baptized within ten days 130 converts in the Ching Fu, of whom 65 were women. Others, even unmar-

ried men, found no difficulty in prosecuting this work. But there could be no question as to the country at large. The speediest way to evangelize a nation is, undoubtedly, to evangelize the women of that nation. The only way to reach the women of China generally was to reach them in their homes. Chinese women are not accustomed to go from home to be mentally quickened by contact with other minds. Men hear the Gospel in the markets and chapels where they are gathered from long distances; not so the women. Assuming that half the population are women, it would seem at first flush that half the evangelizing force should be women, but second thought suggests that because the women must be reached in isolated household congregations, and because native women till past middle life must be "keepers at home," possibly the proportion of women evangelists should be much greater. The young men can give the vigor of their best days to evangelizing the men, but it is only the older women who can become evangelists. An eminent missionary lady says of the Chinese women:

> They are not public speakers. They work in the family from house to house, and through the mothers reach the children. They do that thing, and they do but that one thing. As hardly any Chinese women know how to read, as the old women rarely leave their villages and the young women seldom leave their houses, the only way is to carry the Gospel to them.

Of course in India the conditions of society demand the separation of the sexes. Mr. Cust but voices the common judgment when he says, that it is neither "likely nor desirable that for some generations the rule should be broken, for it might lead to greater evils. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in Northern India, it is as well that in railways and churches, as in schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained in alluding to their existence."

The forms of work of the Woman's Societies may be classified as Benevolent, Educational, and Evangelistic. Yet as all these elements enter into each portion of the work, this is but an imperfect classification. The orphanages sustained by these ladies have been very effective as educational and evangelistic agencies. From them have gone the wives of native preachers, zenana teachers, Bible readers, and medical women, and they have

been the scene of profound religious awakening, and wide revival influences both in India and Japan. Their benevolent character is manifest in their origin, specially in India. Few people have occasion to realize what famine is, as frequently experienced in Asiatic countries, when within a single province two or even four millions of people die of starvation in a few months. Few living things are spared. Insects die in the fields, and fishes in the shrunken rivers; oxen, dogs, jackals, and even field-rats starve in the land. Household utensils, ornaments, the very doors, are sold for food, and all cares, all affections, all hopes are forgotten, while famished, demoralized, maddened, brutalized men cast cannibals' looks and even devour each other. Pestilence follows; where the dead lie they rot; babes try in vain to draw life from the shrunken breasts of dead mothers; living skeletons, more fortunate, stalk into the cities, and are seen gnawing blue marl for lack of food to appease their hunger. It is a terrific picture that no mortal would care to describe, if ever he could.

Out of such pestilence and body of death came our first group of orphan boys and girls in the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage of India. When the Woman's Society got fairly into operation it relieved the Parent Board of the management and support of the girls in this institution. It is beyond human skill to catalogue the Christian influences and evangelizing forces from that institution, which are now building up a strong, self-reliant Christian community among seventeen millions of people in North India. It would be a pleasure to speak of the exceedingly rare qualities of the ladies who have had these institutions in charge.

Of the extensive educational enterprises of this society, orphanages form a part, but only a part. We cannot within our limits more than allude to this extended and well-organized school work. These schools have had large influence in India. They demonstrate to the national government that such education was possible, and became its auxiliary when it undertook the same. A few facts will give force to this remark. The government Education Commission in 1882 reported a total of 127,066 native girls in school throughout the empire, of whom nearly one half were under missionary instruction. Of the whole, 6,379 were in mission boarding-schools, 40,897 in

mission day-schools, and 9,132 under instruction by missionaries in zenanas.

These schools are efficient as an evangelizing agency, their enemies themselves being judges. Although they have exerted less power on Moslems than on others, yet even they have felt the influence so strongly that they have been led to organize in Northern India a "Society for the Promotion of Islam and the Education of Females." In their appeal to the public on behalf of this society they confess that the Christian schools are undermining the faith of the Moslem children.

Miss Isabella Thoburn, the first appointee of this society, rejoices in a girls' school in Lucknow which the government recognizes as the best of its kind in Upper India, and which the native community says is a "standing monument of her powers of organization and management." A movement is already inaugurated to exalt it into a college.

It is not alone in the intellectual results of these schools that we rejoice, but in the gracious revival influences which have been manifest in them. In the girls' schools in Japan, the influence of which is felt throughout the empire, the revival power has been great; eighteen of the girls applied on a single Sabbath for baptism in the one school at Nagasaki. The next day the religious interest was so great that the recitations had to be suspended, and the girls were found weeping and praying in their rooms; still later, fourteen more of the girls were converted. One man who had two daughters in this school for some time was converted, and also his wife. He asked for the names of the parents of all the girls in the school, for he said he must go and tell them, as he is sure when they know what this Christianity is they will surely embrace it. This revival is also immediately related to the introduction of the Gospel into Korea by an interesting incident for which we regret that we cannot make room.

We cannot now set forth the high esteem in which these schools are held by governments in most lands where they are established. There is something touching about the statement of the Yokohama school that when, by some new and unheard-of arrangement, the government officials directed that the pupils of this school should come into the same examination as their own, that these girls all knelt down and asked God to help

them, and when they arrived at the place of examination some of the other scholars shouted, "O, here comes the Jesus Christ school; they cannot pass!" Yet they did, every one of them. One of the examiners asked of another, "What school is this in which every child has passed?" and the answer was, "Why, it is the one known as the Jesus Christ school."

It would be interesting to trace the effects of similar girls' schools in Bulgaria, South America, and Mexico, for their influence is percolating the social order where they are placed, though they suffer by comparison in the reports with some others in Asia, possibly because their work often does not admit of being made public, lest their enemies come into their secret. Not only was all possible obstruction offered to these schools in Bulgaria, for instance, but the bishop said he would have them driven from Loftcha and from Bulgaria "if it cost every hair of his beard."

We have not spoken of the 2,000 zenanas in which over 4,000 of the women of India are under instruction by these Methodist ladies alone, because it is difficult to separate this from another feature of the work, that of the *Female Evangelist*—an agency which, we think, promises more for future evangelical results than any other. "Nothing but the old apostolic plan of evangelism will answer," says Rev. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, "namely, proclaiming the tidings of salvation to every one who will hear it. Men are wanted to preach to men, women to women."

After forty years' residence in India, filling every civil post in the empire from lowest to highest, Sir William Muir says that "a recognized component part of a fully equipped mission should be a *Female Evangelist*." Mr. Cust, the able linguist, long familiar with missions by official residence in India, and by profound study of them through other years, alluding to the small missionary force of the world, says:

> My suggestion is to make a fuller use of women. Call upon that sex which no longer deserves the conventional epithet of the weaker or less wise, to supply the vacuum and stand in the gap. But they must have precisely the same allowance, be provided with similar accommodations, and placed on the same footing.

Never was there more wealth and warmth of welcome awaiting a visitant than is accorded many a Christian woman

evangelist by the women of non-Christian lands! Never was there a greater power to be awakened for the redemption of mankind than that which Christian women may exert over the homes and the mothers of heathendom. How eagerly these women listen to the story of Him who came to relieve the oppressed! "One holds my hands, another my feet," says one of these workers, "as I begin to tell them of Jesus." Many are the touching incidents of the reception of the truth, though but partially understood. How many there may be, none can tell, who, neither churched nor chronicled, have believed savingly in Christ on fragmentary knowledge, like that dying girl in the zenana where no ordained minister could enter, who, having given up her babe, asked for water, and when it was brought crowned herself, laying her open Bible across her head, *baptized herself!*—and died. There are many millions of these secluded women in India. How many are indirectly learning of the truth, though not counted in the congregations, and how far and wide these Female Evangelists may be scattering the Gospel, no statistical tables will enable us to understand. Incidents often cast light upon the subject. One old woman was standing on the outskirts of a crowd at a bathing place on the Ganges River near Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib massacred four hundred Christians. A foreign lady evangelist was talking to two hundred heathen women, and singing to them, and with them, of Christ. "Your singing is drawing my heart this way," said a little old woman on the outer edge of the company. "I have been standing here a long time and can't go away. Every night as I go to sleep I hear you singing,

'Yisu Masih mero prana bachaiya'
('Jesus Christ has saved my soul'),

and I sing it too all day in my heart as I do my work." Many a zenana woman who has not found Christ, yet finds her experience summarized in that of her Hindu sister who said, "We are birds in a cage still, but you have taught us to sing."

The Methodist women are teaching, systematically visiting and praying with, more than a thousand Moslem and Hindu women in the city of Lucknow alone; and they employ 182 native Female Evangelists, known in their terminology as "Bible readers," who are threading the intricate lanes of Indian cities, wandering by the banks of the Yang-tse and the

silver La Platte, sitting under the sunny skies of Italy, or on the fertile plains of Mexico, climbing the Balkans, sailing the seas of the Mikado's empire, and entering the gates of the "Hermit Nation," until it seems that "the women that publish the tidings are a great host."

Before these societies were formed the pigeon-holes of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society were choked with applications of suitable women to serve in these fields, and there has been no hour since, when we could approximately exhaust the supply of devoted, educated, and sensible women ready to give themselves to this work. How slow not only we but the whole Protestant Church has been to learn the meaning of it all! How timidly all the denominations have stood, saying these women could not be sent unprotected—could not, with their Christian purity, be thrown into such maelstroms of heathen vice, or were not competent to act except under male supervision!

But they have gone—gone from homes of culture, halls of learning, and the enchantments of Christian society—gone to isolation and to the dreariness and monotony of heathen misery—gone into public melas, private hovels, and lofty mansions in India and China, camped among wild Koords, crept on hands and knees amid the smoke and vermin of the Zulu's kraal, sung Christian hymns to cannibal crowds, slept quietly on the Infinite Arm in the habitations of cruelty and the abodes of lust, "scribbled" the seas with "the centric and eccentric" of their journeyings, risked health and life in ways named and unknown, bound up offensive wounds, sympathized with the fallen, trained children, given to mothers a loftier ideal of motherhood, addressed themselves to national reforms in the interests of their sex, and been "living epistles" of the everlasting Gospel. And all this they have done, not under the impulse of mere sentiment, but with patience that could plod, with ingenuity that could create, and with practical wisdom that could conserve, they have prosecuted their work in a way and with results which may challenge comparison with that of their sisters, or even of their brethren, of any century and of any clime.

Art. II.—A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

In one of the most piquant numbers of "Fors Clavigera," Mr. Ruskin tells of a lady who attended with great pleasure a series of lectures on Botany, in the course of which the lecturer averred that "the object of his lectures would be entirely accomplished if he could convince his hearers that there was no such thing as a flower." Upon which statement Mr. Ruskin comments as follows:

> Some fifty years ago the poet Goethe discovered that all the parts of plants had a kind of common nature, and would change into each other. . . . In a certain sense, therefore, you see the botanical lecturer was quite right. There are no such things as flowers—there are only leaves. But in the deepest sense of all, the botanical lecturer was, to the extremity of wrongness, wrong; for leaf and root and fruit exist, all of them, only that there may be flowers. He disregarded the life and passion of the creature, which were its essence.

Mr. Ruskin's comment may serve to indicate, in a pithy way, the radical difference between the scientific and the literary methods of study and thought. The plant means one thing to the botanist, and quite another and different thing to the poet or man of letters. The botanist scans it carefully to discover all the physical facts about it; he wishes to know of what parts it is made up—what similarities there may be among these parts—what is the function of each—what changes they may undergo in the growth of the plant—what analogies there are between each of them and the parts of other plants—how it grows from its first germination to the time when it has produced the fertile seeds of other plants and then dies. It is facts and laws he is after—laws that are only sequences between facts.

But for all these things the man of letters cares very little. He rather asks, What is the plant made for? Its different parts are doubtless adapted to each other so as to secure its growth and reproduction; but what was the plant made for? what does it mean? And he naturally says it was made for its highest form of beauty, for its highest power over human sympathy: it was made for flowers. And so Mr. Ruskin says that, "in the thought of nature herself, there is in a plant nothing else but its flowers."

In like manner Mr. Matthew Arnold says that poetry (and it is equally true of all imaginative literature) "has the power of so dealing with things as to awaken a wonderfully new, full, and intimate sense of them, and of *our relations with them*. It is not Linnæus, or Cavendish, or Cuvier who gives us the true sense of earth, or water, or animals, or plants—who seizes the secret for us, who makes us participate in their life; it is Shakespeare with his

'Daffodils
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty;'

it is Wordsworth, with his

'Voice . . . heard
In spring-time from the cuckoo bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides;'

it is Keats, with his

'Moving waters at their priestlike task
Of cold ablution round Earth's human shores.'"

The botanist studies the plant in its physical relations. His method is analytical, and he proceeds by intellectual processes of observation and comparison to the discovery of facts and laws: he begins by pulling the plant to pieces and ends in knowing how it is put together. To him it is always a physical thing. But the poet cares for the meaning and the suggestion which the plant brings to his imagination and emotions. To him it is a living thing with moral significance and power, and he certainly does not want to pull it to pieces, for then it would be "a plant no more, and only litter on the floor." To Peter Bell in the poem,

"A yellow primrose by the river's brim,
A yellow primrose 'twas to him,
And it was nothing more;"

but Peter Bell was neither man of science nor man of letters, and it is a wonder that he noticed even that the primrose was yellow. But to the botanist, the yellow primrose by the river's brim would have been "*Primula officinalis*—a pubescent, exogenous herb, bearing oblong, spatulate leaves, and umbels of regular perfect pentamerous yellow flowers, the five stamens opposite the lobes of a salver-shaped corolla; mostly of riparian

habit." To Wordsworth, or Shelley, or Burns it would have been something quite different, as one of them has said:

> "To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Now what is thus true of the different ways in which the scientist and the poet regard the plant is equally true of the ways in which they regard all things. One taxes the scientific, the other the poetic or literary view of life and affairs. One studies to get a clear, intellectual perception of the logical relations of things to each other, their similarities and causes—that is, sequences—for science can never get farther than that, and knows no other idea of cause. The other studies the relation of things to man's higher moral and emotional nature.

This, however, need not imply that these two very different attributes are not possible to the same man. Certainly the same man may have much of the faculty of the scientist and of the temper of the poet. Nor need we claim that the intellectual power to take the scientific view of things is any less desirable than the imagination and sympathy necessary to take the literary view. It is only needful to indicate that there is a difference between the scientific and the literary temper. They both may be possessed in a considerable degree by the same person, but they cannot both be entertained at the same time.

Literature is the fit expression in language of this literary view of life. The term literature is, indeed, often used vaguely to cover all the written product of a people which is, for any reason whatever, of permanent value. In this sense the term English Literature would cover the Principia of Newton—at least in translation—and the Novum Organum of Bacon; and so the term Greek Literature would include the Analytics of Aristotle. But such books as these are science and philosophy, not literature in the narrow sense in which we must use the term. It is not necessary to give a scientifically accurate definition of literature; it will suffice for our purpose to define it as the record in language which the facts of life leave upon our imagination and our emotions. And the greatness of literature is measured by the breadth of the life thus interpreted to our emotions, and by the elevation of the emotions to which it appeals. Sometimes the range of life with which a writer sym-

pathizes is not very broad, but his emotions are very noble. That was the case with Milton, and in somewhat less degree with Shelley; and their work is justly called great. Sometimes the range of life with which an author sympathizes is very wide, but his emotions are not especially lofty or profound. Such is the case with Chaucer or Walter Scott, and yet their work is justly called great. And sometimes the range of life that is comprehended is very wide, and the emotions lofty also, and then the work is greatest of all; that is the case with Shakespeare.

It may perhaps be said that this definition includes only poetry. "Poetry," says Matthew Arnold, "is the criticism of life;" and Mr. Austin says, it "is the imaginative interpretation of life." But these definitions seem to be of literature rather than of poetry, and they mark the distinction between literature and science. They surely include all creative literature; not poetry only, but fiction and even criticism, which aims to give us a sympathetic appreciation of letters. They do not include history and biography as such; yet it may be said that history and biography derive most of their charm from their power to appeal to our emotions. Without any of the distinctly literary charms, history sinks at once into chronicle and political data, and biography into annals. It will be understood, then, that we mean by the literary temper the disposition to view things in their relation to the imagination and emotions; and by literature, the record of such relations.

With this definition before us, we are in better position to ask what are the advantages to be gained from a study of literature. The question, indeed, hardly seems to need a detailed answer, for it certainly cannot need argument to show the value of a quick perception for all the ministries of life to our imagination and emotions. And, be it noticed, we are speaking of literary study purely. A classic, ancient or modern, may be made the subject of philological or grammatical study, and that study may be very important in its way, but it is not literary study, but purely scientific. And it is doubtful whether the two methods of study can be advantageously combined; at any rate we must do one thing or the other with our classic, not try to do both at once. Of course this statement should not be held to exclude all diligent study needful to ascertain the exact meaning of the author we are reading, and to enable

us to enter intimately into his exact feeling; and this will often necessitate much verbal study, for a great writer does not use his words carelessly or wastefully. He does not throw in two or three random epithets to fill his meter or round his period. Great writing is always that into which the writer has put his best thought and his most earnest feelings, and when a man does that he is sure to feel that language is poor enough at best. No one can read a great play of Shakespeare or some of Milton's best verses, and get the *whole* of the author's thought and feeling, or any near approximation to it, without giving to every sentence as deliberate and earnest attention as he would give to a demonstration in Euclid.

Every educated man, whatever his work or profession, will have to write some and talk much more, and marvelously difficult things these are to do. The older a man grows, the more he realizes the value and the difficulty of accurate, graceful, forcible speech. No instrument that we shall ever learn is so intricate, so varied, so difficult as our every-day language. Speech is chiefly learned by unconscious *imitation*, and we keep on learning it all our lives in the same way that we acquired the elements of it in our childhood. Rhetorical study can do little more for us than to point out the best models and to indicate a few principles to guide our observation. The rest must be done by reading and practice. It is not necessary to point out how much value the careful study of our own great English writers must have in enlarging one's vocabulary, in familiarizing one with correct and vigorous forms of expression, and in cultivating a nice sense of rhetorical method and proportion. The man who has read well usually writes well. He may write with labor and difficulty, it may be a sore task to him; since facility in writing comes much less from natural application than from constant practice. But his taste will become so cultivated that he will know the difference between good and bad writing, and he will be dissatisfied with any thing poorer than his own best ideals. It will almost always be found that a great writer, however imperfect his education may have been in other respects, has been at some time early in his life an earnest and careful reader of the best books.

Perhaps the three men in our century who have shown the greatest mastery of English are De Quincey, Carlyle, and Rus-

kin—and every body knows what readers they were. Before he left the university, De Quincey had fairly saturated his mind with Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, and Jeremy Taylor; and he showed the influence of these men in every line he ever wrote. Carlyle, who certainly was an original writer if any one ever was, says, that though he learned not much of any thing else at Edinburgh University, he did take to reading. "From the chaos of that library," says he, "I succeeded in fishing up more books than had been known to the keeper thereof; the foundation of a literary life was thereby laid." And Ruskin, in his autobiography just now publishing, tells us that when he was yet a child he had Walter Scott's novels and Pope's Homer for his constant study on week days, and "Robinson Crusoe" and the "Pilgrim's Progress" on Sundays; that before he was twelve years old, his mother had forced him to learn by heart the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, and the most of the Apocalypse; and that before he was fourteen, he had heard read aloud by his father again and again all the comedies and histories of Shakespeare, and all of Walter Scott. It is no wonder that, as he says, it was for him impossible, even in the foolishest time of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English.

But good books develop our power of expression, not merely by widening our knowledge of the mechanism of speech, and by giving us a vocabulary and rhetorical taste with which to use it. They assist us perhaps even more by cultivating those emotions upon which the effectiveness of speech largely depends. For speech is designed to tell not only our thoughts but our feelings; and unless our thoughts be colored with feeling, our speech, though it may be precise, is sure to be blank and dull. And the best literature always stimulates our sense of the emotional interest of things and of their human relations, and gives to our thoughts about them that warmth of feeling which makes speech earnest and moving. "I have to read Burke's 'Letter to a Noble Lord' once a month," said Rufus Choate; "I get sick if I don't." The "Letter to a Noble Lord" is precisely the one of Burke's works which has least of political or legal interest and most of the literary. Choate took it as a tonic for his feelings. The

brilliant and scholarly man, who so ably filled the chair of rhetoric in this college twenty years ago, said on one occasion to his students that it was his habit, whenever he wished to write or speak his very best, to get his feelings in tune by reading some favorite passages of Shakespeare or Milton. Beyond all question, the careful study of the best literature, by cultivating the imagination and emotions, enables the writer not only to see his subject but to *feel* it also, and to set it in those relations in which it shall appear to others most attractive and moving.

Another incidental reason for the study of literature is to be found in the light which it throws upon all the *history* of the past. The truest history of any civilized people—their only real history indeed—is written in their literature, and can be known only through that medium. The mere record of external events, the succession of kings, the story of battles, the chronicles of the intrigues of diplomacy and of political struggle—this is not all of history, nor the most important part of it. If we would know the real history of a people we must look behind all the externalities of their story, and discover how *they* lived and worked—what they believed and hoped—what were their ideals, their aspirations, and to what ends their efforts, social and political, were consciously or unconsciously tending. And all these things we shall find best revealed in literature; it is quite possible to write a famous history that shall tell us almost nothing at all about them. A man might read the third and fourth volumes of Hume's history and not have any idea of the sixteenth century of England when he got through with them. But no man with any blood inside of him can read some of the Elizabethan dramas, or Spenser's "Faery Queen," or some of the ringing lyrics of that age, without feeling as if he had been there. Will not the Greek scholars tell us that there is no history of the Athens of the fifth century before Christ so good as that in the plays of Aristophanes? And is there any writer that can so make one at home in the Augustan Rome as can Horace? Or, coming to more modern times, suppose a man to read all the half dozen or so very good histories of the age of Queen Anne; all of them together could not give him so real a sense of the age as a little reading in the Spectator or Tatler, or in the essays of Swift and the verses of Pope.

It is not intended, however, to say any thing in depreciation of the study of formal history and of political science, which for any man, and especially for any young American citizen, are certainly among the most important studies. But whoever would fully understand any past age must realize for himself the national sentiment and feeling of that age, and for that he must go to its literature.

Another advantage of the study of literature, which it shares with that of history, is its power to extend our human sympathies into the past, to make us feel the oneness through all time of our common human emotions, and so to know ourselves to be part of the great procession of the ages. Any system of culture is very imperfect that does not accomplish this; that does not quicken our perception of all human relations, and make us realize more deeply our kinship with those who have gone before us. It is one of the choicest and most ennobling results of a real education, that it extends our narrow and exclusive admiration for our own time by widening our views, and bringing us into a more intimate sense of fellowship with all the great thought and exalted feeling of the past. Across all the centuries of change we feel that one human heart is beating still. In the sorrow of a Priam or a Lear—in the passion of a Cleopatra or a Juliet—we read as freshly as though they were of but yesterday the records of our common humanity. Without this sympathy which links him to the past, a man is indeed isolated; shut up in the narrow room of the present, the race without it would be like the flies of a summer.

There is reason to distrust the culture of those writers who are forever praising our own age of advancement, and chanting the triumphs of modern thought and latter-day progress as if the millennium had set in about the time they arrived upon the scene. Our age is no doubt an age of progress—most ages have been—and we trust that through all the ages one increasing purpose runs; but there is nothing in our achievements that should set us upon any very lofty eminence above the men of other days. Our own age has certainly been noted for its advance in the physical sciences, and for the application of these sciences to the mechanical and industrial arts. It is an age of steam, and iron, and electricity, and of most wonderful and many-fingered machinery, which enables millions of herded op-

eratives to make almost every thing without need of any brains of their own. But if we measure our age by the truth and elevation of its thinking—by its quickness to perceive the noble and beautiful—by its lofty imagination and its unselfish heroism—by its enthusiasm for moral and religious ideas—we shall not find any special reason to plume ourselves overmuch. Certainly in all our modern progress we are not likely to get beyond the illumination of Plato, and Cicero, and Dante, and Shakespeare, and Milton. To talk of having advanced beyond these great men, and hundreds of others, is about like talking of having walked past a star; we may not see it before us just now, but that is only because we have changed our own direction. Be sure the stars are shining there still, and we may find it worth while now and then to turn about and look at them. That man who does not feel this reverence for the past—this solemn sense of the continuity of history and the pathos of human life—is lacking in the most important elements of culture, and, however clever he may be, he is hardly a great man.

When our greatest statesman, Daniel Webster, first visited London, he was given a complimentary breakfast shortly after his arrival by some eminent political and literary Londoners. It was there Carlyle met him, and carried away the image he afterward made so famous:

> One of the stiffest logic buffers and parliamentary athletes anywhere to be met with in our world at present; a grim, tall, broad-bottomed, yellow-skinned man, with brows like cliffs, and huge, black, dull, wearied, yet unweariable-looking eyes under them, and the angriest shut mouth I ever saw. A droop on the sides of the upper lip is quite mastiff-like—magnificent to look upon; it is so quiet withal. I guess I should like ill to be that man's nigger!

So said Carlyle; and in truth our Webster neither seemed nor was much of a sentimentalist. But Sir Henry Taylor tells us how, that morning after breakfast, a few of his friends took the great American into Westminster Abbey. Webster stepped into the Poet's Corner, looked about him in silence for a moment on the solemn reminders of the love and genius and greatness of the past, then threw up his hands to his face and burst into tears. No proof of weakness that, but rather of the depth of his nature! Now it is this feeling to which literature makes its appeal, and which it tends to deepen and strengthen.

And in this respect literary study has a great advantage over scientific. The motive power of science being intellectual curiosity, it is always after *new* truth. Science always has its back to yesterday. Scientific truths once established pass into the stock of the common knowledge of the world; they are assumed as the postulates of further investigations; they are taken up into wider and more inclusive truths, and so lose altogether their own individual interest. Thus the greatest scientific book that the world has yet seen may in the course of a century come to be antiquated, so that no one will read it, even though all its conclusions are accepted and have become part of the world's thinking. De Quincey, in one of his essays, makes a distinction between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. The first is by its very nature only of temporary interest; the second, everlasting.

> As soon as a Laplace or any one else builds higher upon the foundations of Newton's book, he effectually throws his structure out of the sunshine into decay and darkness; by weapons taken from that book he superannuates and destroys the book; only the name of the author remains as a mere *nominis umbra.* But, on the contrary, the Iliad, the Prometheus of Æschylus, the Othello and Lear, the Hamlet and Macbeth, or the Paradise Lost, are immortal and forever triumphant. . . . They never can transmigrate into new incarnations.

But this distinction which De Quincey is making between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power, is plainly enough nothing else but the distinction between recorded science and literature. What he calls the literature of knowledge is nothing more nor less than scientific writing, and science has no past. It is fitly symbolized by the torch that illumines the present, and then, with glowing radiance, passes quickly from the grasp of to-day to the waiting hand of to-morrow.

The study of literature has still more direct and immediate uses than any of these. It is valuable not merely as a means to such ends as these, but for its own sake. The study of literature may contribute in no inconsiderable degree to the happiness of life, and happiness is a legitimate object of pursuit. What a fund of refined and exalted pleasure is always at command of the man who really loves good books! Among the sources of happiness open to an intelligent man we ought doubtless to

rank highest the moral and religious ones—the correspondence fixed with heaven and the quiet approvings of a good conscience. And next to these as sources of happiness come the domestic affections, the joys and the charities of home; but next in the rank of pleasure, below these and below these *only*, are the pleasures of literature. He who has really made himself at home in the society of the best and wisest men who have gone before him, though his life may appear to be lonely and isolated, need never really want for companionship, for entertainment, nor for inspiration. The great works of literature are like our best friends in this respect, as well as in others, that we do not tire of them. Whatever writings appeal to the intellect only are of no interest after we have once fully appreciated their meaning, but writings that appeal to the imagination and emotions have a perennial interest. We never care to have an old thought repeated without change or enlargement; but an agreeable emotion, however well remembered, often becomes more agreeable by repetition. A great work of literature cannot be exhausted by a single reading, nor by any number of readings. The growth and widening of our own experience only enlarges and quickens our sympathy for the emotions of the writer, and discloses meanings and suggestions we had not felt before. A great work of letters embodies the deepest experience of a great mind, and one finds himself more and more responsive to its meanings and its power as his own experience broadens and deepens. And even when some lesser book, some simple song, seems only to revive the same old emotion which it stirred at first, that emotion comes back with a throng of priceless associations that have been linked with it in the course of other years. Our literary intimacies inweave themselves with our best feelings, and become a part of our life. There is no metaphor in the phrase "The friendship of books." That man is to be pitied who has no familiar friends among good books. His must be a dreary and vacant life; and all the worse for him if he never knows it to be such, and never feels himself solicited to retire from the idle noises of the world to the higher companionship of letters.

But it is not pleasure merely that is to be gained by literary study; no study gives more real profit. The assumption is not

to be tolerated, which still seems to be tacitly entertained by a good many people, that the study of literature, especially of our own literature, is only a kind of accomplishment, desirable, doubtless, if one can find the time, but to be placed among the elegancies rather than the essentials of an education, and provided for after what are sometimes called the more solid parts of a course of study have been attended to. This view is fortunately not so prevalent now as it was some score or more years ago, when all the English literature taught in our colleges consisted of a few mostly biographical facts crowded into a single term. But there are yet survivals of this view now and then to be met with. In opposition to all such notions it must be stoutly affirmed, that while not claiming superiority over other recognized branches of higher education, the study of literature is inferior in value to none, and it deserves a place side by side with the most essential. The practical value of its results, considered merely as knowledge, is not at all inferior to those of any other study. Even in the narrowest and hardest sense of the word "practical," it is as truly practical to know what goes on in a man's heart as in his stomach—since we believe that man does not live by bread alone. But the value of literary studies lies principally in the fact that they are not "practical" in the narrow and mischievous sense of that term. When men insist that their studies should be practical, they often mean that they should tend directly to material acquisition, to money-making. It may be granted that all education ought to tend, more or less directly, to increase a man's efficiency in most forms of practical activity; but it is not true that a liberal education ought to be planned principally with a view to material results, or pursued with any such motive. It ought rather to counteract the narrow and exacting spirit of materialism, and to broaden and elevate the whole man. Nearly all studies naturally tend to that result if pursued in the right spirit; but it is the peculiar advantage of literary studies that they can hardly be pursued from the lower motive. If followed successfully at all they will be followed from the love of them, because they are felt to be their own inspiration and reward. They teach us that the real end of all education is to make better men and women, and to develop a symmetrical and elevated character.

The cultivation of the intellectual powers is only one part of

an education, and it can claim no pre-eminence over the other parts. Not only should the perceptions be quickened and the powers of comparison and reasoning strengthened, but also, and with equal diligence, must the imagination be enlarged, the healthy emotions multiplied, and the sympathies refined. The intellect is not the whole man, nor indeed can it be called the highest part of man. It is in the realm of the moral emotions that we find that part of our nature which is the most truly godlike. Indeed, the grandest thoughts are never conceptions of the pure intellect, but they are always tinged with emotions, and they belong less to the philosophers than to the poets.

Nor can it be said that the intellect is more susceptible of cultivation than the imagination and emotions—that educational methods can get at it more easily. There are, of course, native differences of endowment; but as a rule, men are as susceptible of training on the side of the sympathies and the imagination as on the side of the perceptive and the reasoning powers. And without this cultivation of taste and imagination a man, however acute or highly trained his intellect, is a hard and narrow man. He has missed the essential element of culture and the surest safeguard against vulgarity. For vulgarity of mind does not always arise from lack of intellectual training. There are intellectual giants among the Philistines. Vulgarity is matter of feeling. The intellect may tell us what is the *true* in the narrowest logical sense, but for the *beautiful* and the *good* —for what is noble and humane in sentiment or action—the intellect has no appreciation. Men sometimes speak depreciatingly of "matters of taste," as if they were hardly worth the while of an earnest man to think much about. And if they mean by taste only a power of judging nicely between pleasures of the senses, they are right. But taste, in its broader and higher sense of a susceptibility to refined emotions, a power to discriminate between the higher and the lower emotions, and the instinctive preference of the higher, is a matter of very great importance, and on it largely depends not merely our own happiness but our usefulness, our power to influence, to persuade, to ennoble others. It is taste in this broad sense that catches in the hard realities of daily experience some gleams of the ideal, nourishes our aspirations, and sets the spiritual above the material in our estimates of life. And is

there not just now sore need of developing this power in this vaunted age of progress, when attention is drawn so irresistibly to the lower side of life, with an increasing complexity of material interests? Even literature itself seems to have lost something of its ideal and imaginative qualities, its power to inspire and arouse, and to be sinking to a dull realism. There is no English-speaking poet of eminence that is not over sixty years old, and in fiction we are fallen into an atmosphere of intense earthliness.

Let it not be thought that this culture of the imagination and of the emotions which is referred to as essential to the amenity and grace and elevation of character is a thing which pertains exclusively to the sentiments. It is sure to have moral results and to issue in conduct. It is a commonplace that no action is ever determined by intellectual convictions merely; and it is equally true that the habitual conduct of a man is uniformly decided by the tone of his emotions. Out of the heart are the issues of life. Underlying every man's conduct there is doubtless some form of beliefs more or less definite, and this intellectual basis of action is of very great importance. If it be weak, his actions will be hesitating and uncertain; if mistaken, though honest they will often be futile or even harmful. But it is still true, that only when our intellectual beliefs are warmed with emotion do they pass into motives, and have power to influence the will. In fact, all our thinking on practical matters is of necessity tinged with emotion; for one cannot consider any thing that pertains to conduct in the dry light of pure intellect. No truly practical education can, therefore, leave out of sight the culture of those emotions on which all conduct depends, and which can be most effectively cultivated by the study of literature. Purely didactic teaching is powerless over conduct. All the moral philosophy in the world never made a man moral. It is not instruction we chiefly want, but inspiration, sympathy, and spiritual elevation.

True, there is a bad literature as well as a good, and the bad book may have some elements of greatness and permanence. But in the long run, in the literary art only the good is the lasting. The false may win applause and notoriety, but the moral sense will ultimately assert its supremacy in men's literary judgments, and only the true will achieve fame. The

great poet has the penetrative imagination which sees the facts of human nature truly, the healthy sympathy which feels them; and in art this truth of imagination and feeling constitutes morality. In letters, as in life, you will find Emerson's aphorism holds good, that

"What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent."

And when we remember that the study of any work of literature calls into exercise not the intellect only but the sympathies—that we must take an author's meaning into our reflection till we can *feel* as he does—is it not evident that there can be no better form of discipline for the emotions, none more sure to ennoble and refine them, and to issue in higher and purer conduct, than this spiritual companionship with great souls to which literature invites?

Better than any thing else can literature perform the great service of planting truth in the heart, where only truth can be fruitful. Say what we will, it is in the books which are the repository of the best thoughts of the best men that we may most surely look for that

"Gracious light
That does not come with houses or with gold,
With place, with honor, and a flattering crew;
That is not in the world's market bought and sold—
But the smooth slipping weeks
Drop by, and leave its seeker still untired
As on he fares, by his own heart inspired."

Art. III. — ORIGIN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Methodists in the United States entered upon a new departure after the war which, in 1783, gave independence to the country. The history of that new departure is far more obscure, in several of its features, than it is commonly supposed to be. That history, too, is, save in its bare outlines, unfamiliar because it has never been fully written, nor, so far as written, generally read. As we shall see, the movement to establish a new Church with complete ecclesiastical adjustments on this

continent was begun but not consummated at what is known as the Christmas Conference of 1784.

Prior to the arrival of Dr. Coke, in November, 1784, the government of the Methodist Societies in the New World centered in John Wesley. He sent two preachers hither in 1769, namely, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. They labored here under Wesley's authority, as did their brethren in England. In 1771 he sent two additional laborers, namely, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. In October, 1772, Mr. Asbury received from Mr. Wesley authority to act as his "Assistant"—that is to say, as his delegate or deputy. Asbury served in that capacity until 1773, when two other preachers were sent hither by Mr. Wesley, namely, Thomas Rankin and George Shadford. Mr. Rankin had been a traveling preacher longer than Asbury, and the office of "Assistant" was transferred from Asbury to him. He exercised its functions until he fled from the country in 1777. Communication with Wesley was now cut off by the war, and, says William Watters, "Mr. Asbury, the only old preacher that determined in those perilous times to give up his parents' country, and all his natural connections, was finally and unanimously chosen by the preachers assembled in Conference our General Assistant." *

* The meeting of preachers by which Mr. Asbury was chosen "General Assistant" was not the regular "Conference," but an assembly called together informally at Mr. Asbury's retreat, in Delaware, a short time before the regular Conference, which met, agreeable to the resolution of the Conference of 1778, in Fluvanna County, Va. In the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for January, 1876, is an account of these affairs, the correctness of which, so far as we know, has never been called in question.

"The year 1779 was a notable one in the early history of American Methodism. The war of the Revolution was then at its height, and all the English preachers had fled the country, except Asbury, who was secreted at the house of a friend in Delaware. Here Asbury called together as many preachers (sixteen) as were within reach, and held a 'Conference' with them. This body . . . began by recognizing Asbury as 'General Assistant' for America. . . . In due time the regular Conference assembled according to appointment, . . . at which there were present a considerably larger number than at the meeting with Asbury in Delaware."—Pp. 123, 124.

This latter body, says Stevens, was the "regularly appointed Conference legitimately adjourned from the preceding year," and if so, that in Delaware was not, in any legal sense, a Conference at all. The next year, also, there were two rival Conferences—the regular one, appointed by the Fluvanna Conference, met in Powhattan County, Va.; the other, with Asbury, in Baltimore. The two bodies were strongly opposed to each other on important questions of administration. The

The title "General Assistant" really meant General Superintendent. Asbury having been thus chosen by the preachers in Conference to superintend the work, "fixed their appointments" until the end of the war. Peace reopened communication with Mr. Wesley, and about one year before the Christmas Conference of 1784 Asbury received from him the appointment to the office to which his brethren had chosen him. This office he continued to exercise until the arrival of Dr. Coke in the autumn of 1784.

Coke brought to the American Methodists two important documents which bore the signature of Mr. Wesley. The first was a certificate of his own ordination by Wesley, as a Superintendent of the Methodist Societies in America. The other document was called a "Circular Letter," and was addressed "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America." It informed them that Mr. Wesley had "appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America, as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by Baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper."

Now, how did Mr. Wesley come to send Dr. Coke to America at that time on such a mission, and with such authority?

We are able fortunately to give the answer to this question in the language of the man who was then the General Assistant, or Superintendent of the American Methodists, and who, therefore, was in a position to know all the facts to which he testifies, namely, Francis Asbury. He says:

> When the Methodist preachers came first to this country, one half of the continent was overspread with different names and orders of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, English, French, German, Holland, Scotch, and Irish, with many Quakers. In the southern part were Episcopalians. They had but few churches and no bishops. The Methodists were not organized, and had not the ordinances among us. As some in pleasantry said, "We were a Church and no Church." In some places we communed with the Episcopalians. *

two sections came together in Baltimore, in May, 1781, at which session a reconciliation was effected; but we have no account of the appointment of Mr. Asbury by the reunited body to be "General Assistant." It is most likely that it was never done, but that he continued to serve as such "informally."—Ed.

* Asbury's Valedictory Address.

In another place the same authority says:

The people of Mr. Wesley's charge in America—many thousands—were under total privation of the ordinances of God, and most of the Episcopalians had deserted their stations and churches from almost every part of the continent. The Presbyterians held no open communion. The Methodists could not become Presbyterians in sentiment—they would not be Baptists, neither Independents. Multitudes came forward as constant hearers and members of the Society, and immediately the tables of the Lord in their former churches were closed against them. When our brethren would say, "O that you had been ordained to administer the ordinances of God to us!" it was of no account to say the Episcopal bishops would not ordain us. "Mr. Wesley should have ordained you." And thus for fourteen or fifteen years hundreds and thousands of preachers and people [were] crying continually for Mr. Wesley to ordain ministers for America.*

In the following passage from his Valedictory Address Asbury outlines the course of events which led to the appointment and ordination of Coke, and his advent here in 1784:

In 1779 some of our brethren in Virginia attempted to organize themselves into a Church; but in 1780 the writer of this address visited them, when they agreed to suspend their administration, and with united voice call upon Mr. Wesley to make some provision for them. Accordingly, in 1784, our faithful father, Mr. Wesley, ordained Thomas Coke Bishop or General Superintendent.

The exigency of the unordained preachers of America, and of their people who demanded the sacraments at their own altars, was so urgent that Mr. Wesley was compelled to provide some way for giving the preachers ordination, or else leave them to solve the difficulty themselves by proceeding to ordain one another—as the preachers in the South had done in 1779—and then to administer the sacraments on the authority of such ordination.

What provision should Wesley make? He was far advanced in years, having passed his eighty-first birthday, and he did not think it best to undertake the long voyage to America. He might have sent for Mr. Asbury to cross the ocean and receive ordination at his hands. He did not, however, choose that method. He resolved to ordain Dr. Coke a General Su-

* Asbury's letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, in Appendix of Bishop Paine's "Life of Bishop McKendree."

perintendent. He also furnished him with a Liturgy, which in addition to the Sunday service contained a litany for use on Wednesdays and Fridays, and forms for ordinations for superintendents, deacons, and elders, together with the Articles of Religion for the use of the American Methodists; and with these he sent him as his embassador to this country, to ordain preachers according to the requirements of the existing emergency.

It should be observed that Mr. Wesley acted at this juncture solely upon his own authority. He did not, so far as has ever been shown, consult any person or persons in America about the appointment of Dr. Coke as a Superintendent, or about the liturgy, the hymn book, or the Articles of Religion. His course in appointing Mr. Asbury General Assistant in 1783, when he had been already chosen by the preachers to serve in that capacity, and his requirement, in 1784, that the American preachers, in accepting ordination from him through Coke, should proclaim their unqualified submission to him as their ecclesiastical ruler, shows that Mr. Wesley held his personal will in relation to Methodism in this country to be decisive and final. He had been informed that the preachers and people desired Mr. Asbury to continue to act as General Assistant, which, with the exception of the power to ordain, was the same as Superintendent.* He of his own motion appointed Coke, and ordained him. He evidently did not think it wise to supersede Asbury, so he appointed him joint superintendent with Coke. His great object seems to have been to provide for the American Societies an ordained ministry, in order that they might be furnished with the sacraments of the Church. This he had been long and earnestly implored to do, although it does not appear that the Methodists of this country ever asked or desired him to give them a separate Church organization.

In receiving Dr. Coke the Methodists of the United States welcomed him in the name of Wesley. Coke had no authority to speak or act except what he derived from John Wesley. Whatsoever was done by him, therefore, was done in Wesley's

* William Watters, a member of the Christmas Conference, says in his autobiography, pp. 104, 105: "From first to last the business of General Assistant and Superintendent has been the same, only since we have become a distinct Church he has with the assistance of two or three elders ordained our ministers."

name. He was nothing but the agent and instrument of his principal; Wesley under God was all.

As Coke was directed by Mr. Wesley to ordain Asbury as a joint Superintendent, his first business, of course, was to see his designated colleague. While in New York, however, he conversed with John Dickins respecting his embassy. Mr. Dickins was one of the ablest of the preachers, and probably as influential among his brethren as any one except Asbury. According to Coke, Dickins fully accepted Mr. Wesley's authority, and entertained no thought that any one would venture to suggest a revision of the plan. Coke, in his Journal, Nov. 3, 1784, writes in New York:

> I have opened Mr. Wesley's plan to Brother Dickins, the traveling preacher stationed at this place, and he highly approves of it; says that all the preachers most earnestly long for such a regulation, and that Mr. Asbury he is sure will agree to it. He presses me most earnestly to make it public, because, as he most justly argues, Mr. Wesley has determined the point, and, therefore, it is not to be investigated, but complied with.*

According to this view Coke would have fulfilled his mission had he proceeded at once to make proclamation thereof, and to ordain such of the preachers as he saw proper. He, however, chose to see Mr. Asbury before he took any step forward. Asbury, according to the opinion which Coke attributed to Dickins, could only submit to the behest of Mr. Wesley, as conveyed by Coke.

On the 14th of November, 1784, at a quarterly meeting at Barratt's Chapel in the State of Delaware, Dr. Coke for the first time met Francis Asbury. In his Journal he says:

> After dining in company with eleven of our preachers at our Sister Barratt's, about a mile from the chapel, Mr. Asbury and I had a private conversation concerning the future management of our affairs in America. *I privately opened our plan to Mr. Asbury. He expressed considerable doubts concerning it, which I rather applaud than otherwise.* He informed me that he had received some intimations of my arrival on the continent; and as he thought it probable I might meet him that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore collected a considerable number of the preachers to form a council, and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient

* Coke's Journals, p. 13. London, 1793.

immediately to call a Conference, it should be done. They were accordingly sent for, and after debate were unanimously of opinion *that it would be best immediately to call a Conference of all the traveling preachers on the continent.* We therefore sent off Freeborn Garrettson like an arrow from North to South *the whole length of the continent, or of our work*, directing him to send messengers to the right and left, and to gather all the preachers together at Baltimore on Christmas Eve.*

It is evident from the above, that when Dr. Coke conversed for the first time with Mr. Asbury concerning his mission, new views were suggested by the latter to him. Asbury, unlike Dickins, did not at once approve of all that Mr. Wesley had done in the premises, although it seems certain from his statements which I have already given that he did not object to the purpose Wesley had formed of giving ordination to the preachers, and thereby the sacraments to the people. He had long desired and sought this provision at Mr. Wesley's hands, and surely now that Wesley had granted what he had so earnestly and importunately prayed for, he would not hesitate to receive it. Yet, says Dr. Coke, "he expressed considerable doubts concerning it." Asbury obviously believed that he had rights which he was not required to yield even to the venerated Wesley. And those rights he had the courage to assert.

The question is both interesting and important, inasmuch as it relates to the origin of Methodist Episcopacy in the United States—the question, namely: What were the "considerable doubts" which Mr. Asbury expressed to Dr. Coke respecting the mission upon which the latter had come? Let us see if that question can be answered.

James O'Kelly published a work entitled "The Author's Apology for Protesting Against the Methodist Episcopal Government. Richmond, 1798." As this transcript of its title-page shows, O'Kelly's work was issued in the year 1798. In the year 1800 the General Conference took action concerning it as follows:

Resolved, That Brothers Roberts and Snethen be requested to draw up an answer to James O'Kelly's book, and that Brother Morrell assist them with his judgment in the process of the work.†

*The italicized words in this quotation are not found in the volume of Coke's Journals, but are found in his Journal as printed in the "Arminian Magazine" (American), in 1789.

† General Conference Journal, vol. i, p. 44.

This work was performed by Mr. Snethen, who published his "Reply" to O'Kelly in 1800. The "Reply" was quickly followed by O'Kelly's "Vindication" of the "Apology." In the year 1802 was issued a second pamphlet in defense of Asbury and the Church, entitled "An Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication of his Apology, and an Explanation of the Reply. By Nicholas Snethen." Before this last work of Snethen was published it passed through Asbury's hands, as he certifies in the following statement in his Journal February 5, 1801: "I received the compilation of N. Snethen, intended as an answer to James O'Kelly. It is well done and very correctly done, except in a few cases." The "Answer," which was not published until more than a year after this attestation to its correctness was given by Asbury, may be regarded, as to its historical facts certainly, as Asbury's utterance, or at least as having his approval.

In this "Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication," the general correctness of which Mr. Asbury affirmed, the following facts were recorded:

The proposal which was made by Mr. Asbury, and agreed to by the Maniken town Conference* and the process and the termination of the plan of the Fluvanna Conference† was transmitted by Mr. Asbury to Mr. Wesley, when the war ended in the acknowledgment of American Independence.‡ Dr. Coke was dispatched to America with authority to establish an independence

*The Maniken town Conference was that at which the Southern preachers, that is, those in Virginia and North Carolina, agreed with the committee from the North, composed of Asbury, Watters, and Garrettson, to suspend their ordinations and administration of the sacraments pending a reference of the controversy to Wesley.

† The "Fluvanna Conference" was the Conference of 1779 held in Fluvanna County, Virginia, in the absence of Asbury (who was then in retirement on account of the war), at which it was determined to institute ministerial ordination and the administration of the sacraments. For this purpose a committee was formed consisting of Philip Gatch, James Foster, Leroy Cole, and Reuben Ellis, and the Conference agreed "to observe all the resolutions of the committee, so far as the said committee shall adhere to the Scriptures." "The committee invested with the power proceeded to ordain each other and then to ordain those preachers who were desirous of receiving ordination." (Memoirs of Gatch, pp. 68, 71.) This procedure Asbury opposed, and the Northern Conference (Baltimore) stood with him until the Conference at Maniken town in 1780, when the ordinances were suspended and the case referred to Wesley.

‡ In his Journal September 16, 1780, is this record by Asbury: "Wrote to Mr. Wesley at the desire of the Virginia Conference, who had consented to suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year."

of the hierarchy of the Church of England by ordaining the American preachers, etc. Mr. Asbury would accept of no powers from the doctor without the consent and choice of the preachers who were called to meet in Conference. Among the rules offered by the doctor was one designed to preserve the future union between the British and American Methodists.* Mr. Asbury objected to it in the form it was proposed as unreasonable and highly improper. He thought that as the Societies in America had continued for a number of years without any such obligation, to require it immediately after the peace would be attended with unhappy political consequences, as it was well known that Mr. Wesley had written in favor of the British ministry. But the doctor contended for it, and Mr. Asbury agreed to submit if it met with the approbation of the preachers. The obligation being laid before the Conference met with opposition, but it passed in the form in which it was printed in the Minutes. See page 2, question 2. What can be done in order to preserve the future union of the Methodists? Answer. During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters of Church government to obey his commands. And we do engage after his death to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our Union with the Methodists of Europe. †

With the reader's indulgence I will here recall to his recollection two or three facts: 1. For a considerable time the work had gone on in this country without any direction from Mr. Wesley, his General Assistant or deputy, Mr. Rankin, having fled from his post in September, 1777, and entered the British lines, and communication between England and America being interrupted by the war. 2. During that period of non-

* This scheme for "union" seems to show that an "*independent* Church" was not designed by Mr. Wesley.

† With respect to the requirement to accept this rule of Mr. Wesley, Asbury, in his Journal, vol. ii, p. 322, says: "I never approved of that binding minute. I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles distance in all matters relative to Church government." In a letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, Asbury says: "He [Wesley] rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment went not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit. . . . After the Revolution we were called upon to give a printed obligation, which here follows, and which could not be dispensed with—it must be: 'During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel; ready in matters relating to Church government to obey his commands," etc. Our people and preachers were coming out of their childhood—they thought for themselves. If this obligation was necessary, why not introduce it in former years?'"

intercourse Asbury, the only preacher sent by Wesley who remained in the country, with the consent of the preachers served as the Overseer, or Bishop, if you please, of American Methodism, stationing the preachers, and otherwise supervising the work. 3. During this period of home government, which extended over several years, the cause was more prosperous than ever before, notwithstanding the tribulations occasioned by the war. No wonder then that Asbury, who was fully identified with the country and with the rising Methodism within its territory, which latter was composed, he tells us, of only about 500 members when he came hither, and which for so long he had successfully governed, objected to surrender all his power to the venerable father of the Methodist people, who was separated from his children in America by three thousand miles of ocean when steam-ships were yet unknown. When Coke met him with authority from Wesley to divide the labors and the responsibility of the superintendency with him, and requiring in Wesley's name absolute submission to the supremacy of the great English apostle in all matters of ecclesiastical government, it is not surprising that Asbury "expressed considerable doubts concerning" such measures and requirements. Asbury was able to so set forth the reasonableness of his "doubts" as to gain Coke's acquiescence, at least in a good degree, for Coke says of them, "I rather applaud than otherwise."

Two or three facts are thus settled beyond all controversy or doubt: 1. That when Dr. Coke explained to Mr. Asbury the mission on which he had come, Asbury expressed his opposition to Mr. Wesley's requirement, that the American Methodists should submit to his absolute personal government. 2. That Mr. Asbury refused to accept the superintendency by the appointment of Mr. Wesley. Respecting this point Asbury in his Journal of November 14, 1784, says:

> I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren in coming to this country. It may be of God. My answer then was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment.

Had he accepted the office from Wesley he would have been responsible to him as his chief and as the source of his authority. 3. That Mr. Asbury placed the authority of the

American Methodist preachers above that of Mr. Wesley, so far as the government of the Societies in this country was concerned. In this he stood in opposition to Mr. Wesley. And there is scarcely a doubt that his doing so led to the convocation known as the Christmas Conference. Thomas Ware, who as a narrator of events which occurred at that time is in high repute, says that Asbury said to Coke, "Doctor, we will call the preachers together, and the voice of the preachers shall be to me the voice of God. A Conference was accordingly agreed upon." *

Errors sometimes become not only venerable but venerated. Such seems to be the opinion which has so long been cherished by the greater part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that the Christmas Conference of 1784 was held in accordance with the design of Mr. Wesley, and the supposed provision made by him for organizing an independent Church. Mr. Wesley could hardly have designed that a Conference should be convened for such a purpose. He apparently meant that Coke and Asbury, as his proxies, should hold Conferences, as Rankin and Asbury had done for years, and that they should station and ordain the preachers; but it is doubtful if he meant that the Conferences should legislate or even vote upon any question of ecclesiastical polity whatsoever. In the light of the facts, and of Wesley's known practice in not allowing questions to be determined in Conference by vote, the opinion that he directed Coke to call the preachers together in a General Conference to debate and determine so grave a question as that of organizing an independent Church is highly questionable. Wesley probably no more intended that the preachers should do *that* than that they should vote themselves prelates or papists.

It is a well-established fact that Mr. Wesley never allowed his preachers to vote in Conference. In 1785, soon after the Christmas Conference, he held a Conference in London of which he says: "About seventy preachers were present whom I had invited by name. One consequence of this was, we had no contention or altercation at all." He knew his men and called together only such as he chose to confer with, and thus unanimity prevailed in his councils. To convene all the American preachers in order that they might formally organize the Methodist

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," vol. xiv, p. 97.

Episcopal Church, legislate for it, and elect bishops, could scarcely have been the project of the founder of Methodism. He meant, as his appointment of Dr. Coke shows, to assert and maintain his own authority and supremacy in America as he had done in England from the beginning of the Methodist movement. That supremacy Mr. Asbury refused to acknowledge, and therefore we suspect the Conference was held.

It is likely that the work of the Christmas Conference would not have escaped the disapproval of Mr. Wesley but for the fact that it adopted the minute which he required the American preachers to accept, and which he probably meant should be incorporated into the minutes of the District Conferences,* namely, that "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters belonging to Church government to obey his commands." As long as the American Methodists were loyally subject to him as their earthly head, it was of little account to Mr. Wesley that they adopted the title Methodist Episcopal Church by the vote of a General Conference. They did not thereby absolve the body from his control, and therefore he probably looked upon the procedure as of little consequence.

One thing, however, he attempted, namely, to prohibit the preachers in Conference from voting. Mr. Snethen says: "Mr. Wesley blamed his General Superintendents for allowing the American preachers to vote. Mr. Asbury was the first to offend, and so procured his own election." Wesley's authority would be more secure if no measure was subjected to a vote. Hence Thomas Ware says:

> As we had pledged ourselves to obey, he instructed the doctor, according to his own usage, to put as few questions to vote as possible, saying, "If you and Brother Asbury and Brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is enough." †

Asbury, who had shrewdly taken the precaution to have a band of about a dozen of his preachers with him when he met Coke, apparently secured a General Conference. The Conference, when it had assembled, declared its prerogatives. Opposition was shown in the Conference to the minute which Coke in Wes-

* A Conference then, as now, included the work and the preachers of a given territory or district, and so was called a District Conference.

† "Life of Ware," p. 130.

ley's name insisted should be accepted, namely, the minute declaring submission to Mr. Wesley's commands. Asbury maintained silence in the Conference respecting it. He says: "I was mute and modest when it passed." Having first of all declared their readiness to obey Mr. Wesley in all matters of Church government, the Conference further declared that "we will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church." It also established an elective Superintendency or Episcopacy, defined its powers, and elected Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury incumbents of the office. As no record of this *election* appeared in the printed Minutes of the Conference the fact of Asbury's election was denied by Mr O'Kelly in both his "Apology" and his "Vindication." Mr. Snethen, in his "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," published the following documentary testimony to that fact:

> We whose names are undersigned do testify that we were members of the Conference held in Baltimore in the year of our Lord 1784, and that the method of deciding all questions was by voting, and that Mr. Asbury was elected as is asserted in the "Reply," page 9, by a unanimous vote.
>
> EDWARD DROMGOOLE, IRA ELLIS,
> WILLIAM WATTERS, LE ROY COLE.
> JOHN HAGERTY,

In a recent work,* in which I examined some unfamiliar authorities bearing upon the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I quoted Mr. Wesley's declaration that he did not separate the American Methodists from the English Church. Professor Tigert, of Vanderbilt University, in reviewing a portion of the book in an article in the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South" (July, 1885), makes a very unwarranted statement, as follows:

> On one other point Dr. Atkinson wholly misapprehends the situation. He argues that Mr. Wesley did not intend the American Methodists to be independent of the Church of England. This is puerile. If it were not for the discourtesy implied in it, idiotic would be the best descriptive epithet.

A controversialist gives evidence of being embarrassed when he attempts to vanquish an adversary by calling him hard names rather than by facts or reason. That an intelligent writer, with my volume in his hand, should make such a statement as the

* See the writer's "Centennial History of American Methodism."

above seems almost incredible. I did not "argue" the matter in question at all; I simply quoted Mr. Wesley's own words:

Judging this to be a case of real necessity, I took a step which, for peace and quietness, I had refrained from taking for many years. I exercised that power which I am fully persuaded the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me: I appointed three of our laborers to go and help them [that is, the Methodists in America], by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise by administering the sacraments in all that vast land. These are the steps which, not of choice, but necessity, I have slowly and deliberately taken. If any one is pleased to call this separating from the Church [of England] he may. But the law of England does not call it so. After Dr. Coke's return from America many of our friends begged I would consider the case of Scotland, where we had been laboring for many years, and had seen so little fruit of our labors. Multitudes, indeed, have set out well, but they were soon turned out of the way; chiefly by their ministers either disputing against the truth, or refusing to admit them to the Lord's Supper, yea, or to baptize their children, unless they would promise to have no fellowship with the Methodists. Many who did so, soon lost all they had gained, and became more the children of hell than before. To prevent this, I at length consented to take *the same step* with regard to Scotland which *I had done with regard to America.* But *this is not a separation from the Church* at all. Whatever then is done, either *in America* or Scotland, *is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it.**

John Wesley was not surpassed by any man in his day in the ability to say clearly the thing he had to say. He says with the utmost clearness and positiveness in 1785 that what he did in 1784 for the Methodists in America was "no separation from the Church of England," and furthermore, that he had "no thought" of such a "separation," and further still, that he had "many objections against it." Now Professor Tigert proceeds, though with some hesitancy, which he attributes to courtesy, to pronounce this position of Mr. Wesley quoted before his eyes as "idiotic." All this Professor Tigert affirms is "puerile," or as he would prefer, but for the discourtesy, to say, "idiotic." Well, if so, the puerility and idiocy are Mr. Wesley's. The professor's caustic epithets, however, will scarcely demolish the grave and emphatic declarations of John Wesley.

* This statement appeared in the Wesleyan Minutes, is dated August, 1785, and is found in Wesley's Works, vii, pp. 314, 315. The italics in the quotation are mine.

Mr. Wesley declares, that in sending Coke to this country as his ordained Superintendent, he had no intention of separating the American Methodists from the Church of England. This is clearly expressed in his words written in 1785: "Whatever is done [by Mr. Wesley] in America is no separation from the Church of England."

It is said, however, that Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of Church government for the American Methodists when he commissioned Coke as his embassador. No "plan" has ever been found in Wesley's writings or elsewhere save the "Circular Letter." All that he had to say he seems to have said in that document, and in it he says not a word about any "plan" of Church organization which he had conceived. It is alleged, furthermore, that he indicated the design of a separate Church organization by preparing the Articles of Religion and the Liturgy for the use of the Societies in the United States. His own words in the "Circular Letter," which for some reason have been eliminated from the document as now extant, show what he meant in sending over the liturgy. Wesley says (I quote from the Circular Letter the passage which has been eliminated):

> I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted National Church in the world), which I advise all the traveling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day. *

Now for the Sunday service, for prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the sacramental occasions, he prepared the Liturgy, which also included forms for the ordinations at which Dr. Coke was to preside—the ordination, that is to say, of a superintendent, elders, and deacons.

With respect to the Articles of Religion, it may be said that it was apparent to Mr. Wesley that the rising Methodism of the New World required some convenient statement of doctrine, not only for the use of the members themselves, but also that others, and especially inquirers, might know what theological opinions were involved in the new religious movement. The war, which had stopped the intercourse between Wesley

* See Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore, pp. 460, 461. London, 1792.

and his American children, was over. When it began they numbered only about three thousand, with but nineteen preachers; now they were an aggressive and growing body having about fifteen thousand members and above eighty preachers. In communicating with them after so long an interval, during which they had enjoyed such growth, Wesley deemed it wise to furnish them, what they so manifestly needed, an outline of Christian doctrine. This, together with the liturgy, the hymn book, and the ordinations, constituted all that Wesley did or proposed to do respecting the American Methodists, if we may judge from his own declarations in the case.

It may, however, be further alleged that Dr. Coke, in his sermon at the ordination of Asbury as Superintendent, asserted that "after long deliberation he (Wesley) saw it his duty to form his Society in America into an independent Church."

The language of Coke must be taken, then, as he gives it, namely, that Wesley "saw it *his* duty to form an independent Church." But Wesley did not form the Methodist Episcopal Church. That was done by the body of preachers in Conference assembled at Baltimore in 1784. The wish to be absolutely fair compels me to give the following passage from the Rev. Nicholas Snethen's "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," which probably very few now living have ever seen. This passage reads: "The American preachers in 1784, by Mr. Wesley's advice and consent, agreed by a majority of votes to form themselves into a separate body to be called the Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The fact that Snethen's "Answer" was read in manuscript by Asbury gives great weight to its statements. We would say in reference to this, however, that while there is no doubt that Asbury and the preachers of the Christmas Conference believed that it was in harmony with "the advice and consent of Mr. Wesley" that they should maintain a certain Episcopal Church order, there is not a word of Wesley's to show that the "advice and consent" of which Mr. Snethen speaks was ever definitely expressed by him. It seems rather to have been *inferred* by the preachers at Baltimore from what he did and said.

The history of the origin of the Christmas Conference seems to show that Wesley did not appoint it or propose it, but that Asbury's refusal to accept Wesley's appointment, and to submit

as Wesley required to his personal authority in all things relating to the government of the American Societies, except the preachers agreed to the same, caused that Conference to be convened. All the independent Church which Wesley proposed apparently was, to maintain the same firm grasp upon the Methodism of the United States now that they had achieved political independence which he held while they were a part of the British Empire; and in doing so to furnish them by his own hand, through the medium of Coke, ordination, an outline of doctrine, a liturgy, a hymn book, and a "joint" instead of a single superintendency. In so far as that went, indeed, Wesley formed "his Society into an independent Church," though with no thought, as he declares, of separation from the Church of England, and certainly with no thought of separating "his Society" from his personal and unquestioned control.

After Dr. Coke made the assertion at Asbury's ordination concerning Mr. Wesley having seen it to be "his duty to form his Society into an independent Church," Wesley, who doubtless read Coke's statement in the printed sermon, wrote his declaration which we have quoted already, namely, "Whatever is done in America, *is no separation from the Church of England.* I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it." Thus did Wesley contradict Coke's declaration respecting "an independent Church" several months after Coke uttered it.

Dr. Coke was privileged to enjoy a number of personal interviews with his chief after the Christmas Conference. With the clearer light which those interviews gave him of the views and intentions of Mr. Wesley respecting the "independent Church," Coke, in 1791, said:

> I am not sure but that I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I received my commission, did intend. He did, indeed, solemnly invest me, so far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but *did not intend*, I think, *that our entire separation should take place.* This I am certain of, that he is now sorry for the separation.*

The most favorable interpretation which can be given of this case is, that Dr. Coke was not clear in his understanding of

* Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White, dated April 24, 1791.

Wesley's views as to "an independent Church," when, with Asbury, he presided at the Christmas Conference.

Then, furthermore, what did the "independent Church" which originated at the Christmas Conference amount to in Coke's estimate? Evidently but little more than "a rope of sand." In a letter written by Dr. Coke in 1808 to one of the foremost leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church at that time, he refers to the letter he wrote to Bishop White concerning the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and says:

> As to my letter to Bishop White, most of my brethren who are now members of the General Conference were then children or lads. We had no regular General Conferences. We had had only one.* There were only district meetings. †. The little connection was in danger of becoming a mere rope of sand, if the Lord had been pleased to take away Bishop Asbury. As to the repetition of the imposition of hands, I considered it then, as I do now, as a perfectly unessential point. I acted for the best; but with no intention of taking any actual step but by the consent of a General Conference. ‡

At the time Coke wrote the letter to Bishop White to which he refers in the above excerpt, Wesley's authority had been rejected for about four years by the new Church. Asbury administered its affairs, as he had done during the Revolution, when Wesley had little or no communication with the American Methodists. Coke had but little to do with the affairs of the Church, and was not even consulted in reference to stationing the preachers. The Christmas Conference had adjourned without making any provision for future legislation. No General Conference, or other method of ascertaining and giving authoritative expression to the will of the Church on questions of government that might arise in the course of its progress, seems to have been considered. Mr. Wesley was the acknowledged ruler and lawgiver of American Methodism when the Christmas Conference dissolved; and that being the case, it is

* That one was the Christmas Conference. This hitherto unpublished word of Coke settles the query which Stevens in his "History" has discussed at length, whether there was a General Conference between 1784 and 1792.

† The District Conferences Coke here calls "district meetings."

‡ Manuscript letter of Dr. Coke, dated March 1, 1808. This, I presume, is the first time that any part of this letter has been printed.

probable that no arrangement looking to future legislation was deemed necessary. When, however, the preachers in Conference in 1787 determined to be no longer subject to the authority of Wesley, the Methodist Episcopal Church was found to be but a frail ecclesiastical fabric. The government centered chiefly in Asbury; and, should the young Church be subjected to the strain of his removal, Coke thought it would be liable to crumble into fragments like "a mere rope of sand." So thinking, he wrote to Bishop White, with a view to its union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Even the Episcopal ordination of the new Church did not, in Coke's view, possess such significance as to prevent it from being readily surrendered for the sake of the union he proposed; and as late as 1808, he declares that he still considered it "a perfectly unessential point." Plainly, then, in Dr. Coke's opinion, not very much was achieved in 1784 in the matter of forming "an independent Church." And, as a matter of fact, it must be acknowledged that there was about nothing of Church adjustment in the Methodism of America after the Christmas Conference dissolved which it did not possess before the Conference was convened, except what Wesley himself gave it in his ordinations, liturgy, psalmody, and the abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles as its theological symbols, together with the assumption by the Conference of a title, and the declaration for an elective superintendency. Had Asbury accepted Coke, and also Wesley's appointment of himself as Superintendent, without question, as he had previously accepted from Wesley the office of Assistant, and the General Conference had not therefore been called, the result, with the exception of title and election, would have been about what it actually was. The liturgy and psalmody would have been the same; the ordained ministry and Articles of Faith would have been the same; and the absolute submission to Mr. Wesley's commands in all matters of government would have been the same. The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church organization was yet to be achieved, with the exception of a bare and fragile frame-work, when the preachers of the historic Conference of 1784 departed from Baltimore. In a future article we propose to review the steps by which a more perfect organization was accomplished.

Art. IV.—BISHOP MARTENSEN.

The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini opens with the statement that "all men, of whatever rank, who have done any thing virtuous or virtuous-like, should, providing they be conscious of really good intentions, write down their lives; nevertheless, they should not undertake this worthy enterprise until they have reached the age of forty." Of the many who have since thought it worth while to give the world a picture of their lives, few have perhaps had a better right to do so, and few have better fulfilled the conditions laid down by the shrewd Italian, than the late Bishop Martensen, theologian, preacher, and ecclesiastical organizer. His life, though not so stirring as that of the statesman or the soldier, was greater than that of either, and of more abiding interest, for it was the life of one of the deepest and purest Christian thinkers of our age. His Autobiography—written in his old age, and when, as he himself pathetically tells us, "he spoke with his foot on the very brink of the grave"—will therefore be regarded by many as not the least welcome and valuable of the various thought-legacies which he has left us. It has been to many in his own land and elsewhere not only a guide through the difficulties which beset the pathway of the inquiring spirit, but a help to larger and more hopeful views of life and its possibilities.

Hans Lassen Martensen was born at Flensburg, in South Jutland, on the 19th of April, 1808. His father, like most of the peasant class of the north, was a sailor until he was, during that unsettled time, made a prisoner by the English, when his health gave way, and he had to try a new mode of life as a writer of text-books on Navigation. With this view he removed to Copenhagen, where his writings, which supplied a gap in that kind of literature, brought him some reputation, as well as a scant livelihood. His mother, Anna Maria Truelsen, was the daughter of a second-hand book-seller. Hers was a quiet, contemplative spirit, possessing at all times a contented joy in life, combined with a hopeful outlook into the future. It was she who first taught young Hans to pray; and it was from her, as well as from his father, he early learned to be-

lieve in the government and guidance of God in good as well as evil days.

His home-life, if somewhat lonely, was happy and peaceful. "Elia," in one of his exquisite Essays, says: "Brother or sister I never had any—to know them. A sister, I think that should have been Elizabeth, died in both our infancies. What a comfort, or what a care, may I not have missed in her!" Martensen had a brother, but he died in early childhood; and he deeply regrets, more than once, in his Autobiography, that he never had a sister. "My natural disposition," he tells us, "led me to a quiet, inner life; and while I lived in my inner world, and gave myself undisturbedly to it, the outer world was as indifferent to me as could well be. Had I a sister, this might have been otherwise. All my life long I have felt it as a want that I had no sister." But he tried to make up for the lack in those early years by loving his mother, and his books, and the violin—the use of which he learned from his father—and in whose company he spent many a pleasant hour.

Young Martensen was not very fortunate in his first school at Flensburg. A cold atmosphere of rationalism pervaded it, and the subjects taught, especially the scraps of natural science, were exceedingly distasteful. At Copenhagen matters were slightly better, though even yet classical studies, with the exception of the fables of Phædrus, did not greatly interest him. He did not inherit his father's talent for mathematics; and, as a mental discipline, he neither then nor afterward derived much help from studies of that kind. At this stage his own national literature, and particularly the poems of Oehlenschläger, had the most interest for him.

In 1822 his father died, and left his mother "not only in deep sorrow, but in straitened circumstances." In the following year he was enrolled, through the assistance of friends, in the chief or Metropolitan School in Copenhagen. Here a new world disclosed itself, and he reveled in its treasures. Herodotus, Homer, Ovid, and Cicero filled him with youthful wonderment and delight. He also, at the same period, made the acquaintance of Shakespeare (through Foersom's translation), Schiller, Goethe, Tieck, Novalis, and, above all, he studied anew his old friend Oehlenschläger, of whom he says, "that in richness and fullness of fancy, and in beauty and freshness of

language, he is excelled by none of the world's greatest poets." It was then, too, he fell in with Steffen's "False Theology and True Faith." Though he did not fully understand this work, it made a deep impression on him. From it he received the idea that all that has significance in the sphere of being—nature and spirit; nature and history; poetry, art, and philosophy—forms but one temple of the spirit, in which Christianity is the all-dominating and all-enlightening center.

In this state, with many vistas of knowledge opening before him, and many beautiful ideals of truth dawning upon his spirit, he entered the University in 1827, at the age of nineteen.

At first he studied, with diligence and distinction, philology and philosophy; but his inclinations, as well as the spirit of the age, soon led him to direct his attention to theology. Throughout all Protestant Christendom new ideas were spreading, and the coarse rationalism which had hitherto oppressed the spirits of men like a horrible nightmare was fast beginning to pass away before a more enlightened and scientific presentation of the Christian faith. Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher were then in the ascendant, and their influence gave a fresh impulse to religious life and thought. It was a time of revolution and reconstruction — for theology, perhaps the most momentous through which it has ever passed—and an ardent soul like Martensen could not be insensible to it. In his own land, Grundtvig and Mynster, the representatives of liberal orthodoxy, were the leaders of the opposition against the old rationalistic system; and it was through them he was first led to take a deep and speculative interest in the new movement. But still he did not find in either the satisfaction and guidance he sought. Grundtvig was a great historic and prophetic character, throwing out large thoughts about the world and Christianity, but he was no theologian. He had no solution of the ground problem—the union of faith and knowledge; and though the young scholar learned much from him, possibly more than he knew, he could not follow him as a guide. There was a fascination in the man and his views; but, for as much as he had spoken and written, there was no word which had brought peace and assurance to his spirit.

Of Mynster, too, he could say the same thing. This beautiful soul, alike distinguished as a preacher and a theologian, made

a deep impression upon him; still, he could not say he had reached ground on which he could take his stand, and from which his further development might proceed. His soul, like Noah's dove, saw no place amid the wastes around where it could find rest. There was a kind of dualism in his being; for his religious interests kept pace with his speculative inquiries, and he felt he could only acquiesce in that which brought satisfaction to both. What he sought was the adjustment of the problems of faith and of knowledge, and that he had, as yet, failed to find.

The first who put him on the right track was Sibbern, Professor of Moral Philosophy in his own University. This acute thinker endeavored to combine religion and speculation, and in doing so he arrived at a point at once higher than that attained by either the orthodox or rationalistic methods. In his system Christianity was accepted not simply on the authority of Scripture, or of the Church, or because it speaks to our hearts and consciences, but because we immediately know it to be true in the light and certainty of its own objective reality. He further regarded it as the mightiest power on earth—and that in the sphere of practical life as well as in the world of thought. As such, he maintained, it can answer the deepest questions of the thinking spirit, it can supply the needs and yearnings of the human heart, and it can furnish the mind with an all-embracing conception of the world.

It was while these views of Sibbern were silently growing in the soul of Martensen—like the seed which the man in the parable cast into the ground, and which grew up he knew not how—that he came under the spell of the two greatest thinkers of modern times—Schleiermacher and Hegel.

The "Christian Dogmatics" of the former, which marks an era in theological literature, he found, as most young students at first find, to be very difficult reading. He failed to understand its separation of theology from philosophy; he missed its idea of God; and as to its doctrine of last things, he comprehended almost nothing; yet he assures us he was deeply fascinated by its central thought of sin and redemption, and by its marvelous structural conception, which makes it, next to Calvin's "Institutes," the greatest masterpiece of theological thought. While Martensen was engaged in studying this epochal work, Schleier-

macher paid a visit to Copenhagen, and he had the good fortune to make his acquaintance. "He was," he informs us, "a very little man—or, as Sibbern put it, 'a little spare man'—somewhat deformed, with white hair over his high and beautiful forehead (for he was then sixty-five years of age), and with deep, piercing eyes which, while he spoke, glanced from beneath upward, and overtopped the person with whom he conversed; yet the longer he spoke the more you became impressed you were standing in the presence of a great personality." He took kindly to Martensen, and entered freely into his difficulties. When he understood he was studying his *Christlicher Glaube*, he said, in his own quiet, good-humored way, "*Meine Dogmatik ist nicht leicht!*" (My "Dogmatics" is not the lightest kind of literature.) The chief discussions between the two were based on various points treated in this work. One day Martensen asked him whether he believed a philosophical knowledge of the being of God—of his inner, eternal life-processes—were possible. He answered that he regarded such an effort of the intellect to apprehend the Infinite as a mere illusion and deception. We cannot think otherwise than by contrasts or opposites; but God, according to him, was the absolute, the eternal Ground of our thought, the Being of all beings (*Wesen aller Wesen*), raised above all contrasts or opposites; and to think of him as a personality, or, with Spinoza, as a *natura naturans*, is to think of him by contrast, or in a finite, anthropomorphic, or creaturely fashion. In this view Martensen could not acquiesce. He preferred to follow Hegel, Schelling, Böhme, and those kindred spirits who maintained that God must be thought of antithetically. Without distinction or contrast, he felt that God could not be for him the living, self-revealing Triune God. Hence Schleiermacher, following out his own speculations to their true issues, was a one-sided Unitarian (a Sabellian).

Martensen owed much to this original and strangely mixed genius. What his influence on him might have been, had not the friendship of respect and love which had just been formed between the two been separated by death, it is difficult to say. As it was, in the building up of his character and in the unfolding of his thoughts, the translator of Plato, with his richly endowed Socratic individuality, with his mysticism, his piety,

and philosophy, must be taken into account as not the least important factor.

Hegel, whom he next studied, presented quite a contrast to Schleiermacher. He discarded altogether feeling and the pious disposition, which the other made so much of, and made thought—not simply subjective thought, but divine thought, penetrating the whole universe, and revealing itself in it—the basis of his entire system. In keeping with this conception, he was hopeful that theology, which had become attenuated, shriveled, and barren, might attain new life and honor by being reproduced in such a living and real form as would render it capable of being discerned in its true nature and according to the necessity of the indwelling idea.

While seeking to understand the "secret of Hegel," the idea Martensen at this time formed of his view of the world was, that in which Christ was represented as "the center of being, at the background of the Trinity; and the universe as a system of concentric circles, all pointing to the inner circle in which Christ lives, and all finding in him their explanation and meaning." Still, he is rather inclined to question whether this conception is borne out by his writings, and speaks somewhat hesitatingly of other voices which were raised in condemnation of them as tending directly to sink all individual and personal being into a kind of logical pantheism. But, however this might be, the more he studied this profoundest of modern philosophers the more he accepted his system, and became inclosed in it as in a magical net. It had a special fascination for him, because it proceeded from the unity of thought and being, and because it was destructive of Kant's view of knowledge (that "we can only know a thing as it is for us, and not as it is in itself")—a view he regarded with the strongest antipathy. He felt, with Baader and others, that the dialectic of Hegel had "kindled a fire through which all that shall prove itself valid in science must pass." And, though he ultimately broke with his autonomistic and pantheistic principles, this feeling never left him. To the last he loved Hegelianism, and was a worthy representative of its so-called right wing.

Thus he passed his student days in gleaning knowledge from every field in which he could find it. In 1832, at the close of

his university course, he held the first place, and obtained the gold medal for distinction in theology. Two years later he won a traveling scholarship, which entitled him to study abroad at the expense of the State. This was an honor he greatly coveted, and he did ample credit to it. During the two years he held it he studied in succession at Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, and Paris. At these various seats of learning theology and philosophy chiefly occupied his attention. He read the Church Fathers, especially Athanasius; he made a particular study of the mystics of all ages, with the intention of writing a work on that subject; and, above all, he sought to get a clear understanding of the leading philosophic systems of his day.

It was a time of intense mental activity, and, at one part of it at least, it was a time of utter skepticism. While at Berlin, a bodily illness brought on a state of hypochondria, which, assuming a subtle, psychical character, shook to its base the entire fabric of his thought. What was before for him true and certain as the light was now doubtful and dark as night. But, what was even worse still, his disease filled him with a kind of surfeit of life, in which "every thing was equally indifferent; and all reality, as well in the world of things as of thought, had resolved itself into empty shadows." It was not that he doubted this or that particular truth, such as the doctrine of immortality—the bone of contention between the right and the left wing of Hegelianism; he doubted the whole system of truth. With him the problem to be solved was one which turned upon God, and the idea of God. "Who," he asked his own soul, "is the true God? Is it the living God, the God of revelation? or is it Pantheism, the god of heathenism?"

In seeking to answer these questions he felt there was much in Pantheism which was true as it was beautiful, but it failed to meet his wants. He could not be satisfied with a merely impersonal God; and Pantheism—whether it be thought of as Nature, the logical idea, the logical process, or the logical spirit—could give him no other. And what could such a deity as that care for him? or what interest could he, in his turn, have in a being who only stood related to him as the necessity of his thought and life, in good as in evil? What he yearned for was a God who was really and personally present in his

own world, whose fullness streamed through every sphere of earthly existence, and in whom we all "live, and move, and have our being." But again, in his search for this God who is touched with the weal and woe of humanity, he was met with the fresh difficulty: "How can he be all, and at the same time a real existence, an individual?"

He was thus in a state of complete intellectual bewilderment, and he knew not rightly what to think or to do. Pantheism had its insuperable difficulties, so had Theism; and as for Deism, with what Carlyle calls its "absentee God," he left it out of account altogether. At last he concluded there remained nothing for him, now he had lost faith in all higher ideals of personality, but to render homage to this world, its kingdoms and its glory.

Strange to say, it was while this sad alternative was thrust upon him that the true light began to dawn on his spirit. Hitherto he had been living in a region of pure speculation, in which he expected to attain to a knowledge of God by the sheer force of his own intellect. But, now that he came down to the plane of life, with its facts and realities, he found it was necessary not so much to speculate about the Divine Being, as to learn to *live*. This led him to the truth, which came to him like a revelation, "that our true problem is not, as Hegel thought, a problem of knowledge, but a problem of existence, whose solution is to be sought for in life." Starting from this point, it became ever clearer to him that if God is to be known at all, it cannot be as an impersonal object, like Nature, but as a living and personal God, manifesting himself in human history. As such we can only know him when we are brought into personal contact with him. The element of faith is thus introduced; and, as a consequence, there is true and religious knowledge. Without this, all we can know of God is the mere deceptive play of our own imaginations.

Here, at last, Martensen found a resting-place for his wearied spirit. Henceforth, instead of speculating about faith and knowledge, he sought to bring them into their right place in his life. He was much stronger in health; his hypochondria was passing away; and he was about to leave Berlin, of which he was getting tired, for Heidelberg, with its new scenes and fresh studies. Besides, the time of spring was at hand;

and all combined had awakened strong faith in him—faith in God, and faith in life and its triumphant *on-go.*

But full of mental activity as this period was, it had a special significance for Martensen, as it brought him into friendly relations with men whose fame had spread over continents, and some of whose writings he had learned to know in his own land. The chief of these were Daub and Strauss, Baader and Schelling.

Daub, "the father of speculative theology," then an old but vigorous man, made a pleasant impression upon him. Yet, the more he studied his writings, the more he was convinced that, however much his faith was with revelation, his thought was with Pantheism. In his search after the knowledge of God, he, instead of occupying a position of absolute dependence, took, as his starting-point, pure, impersonal thought; and consequently landed in that pantheistic bog where the ideas of the divine and the human are merged into each other.

It was when on his way to Tübingen he made the acquaintance of David Frederick Strauss. The "Leben Jesu" had appeared a short time before; but, although it created a sort of panic in Christendom, it had no unsettling effect on Martensen. He speaks of it with undisguised contempt, as being founded on dogmatism and hypotheses which cannot bear the test. Still, perhaps, the man himself might be better worth the knowing than the book which made his name immortal; and in this he was not altogether mistaken. "While his outward appearance," he says, "was not what might be called distinguished, still he made an agreeable impression, because his manner bore the stamp of culture, refinement, and, strange as it may seem, of modesty." The two spoke about many things; but naturally the conversation was directed to Hegel, "whose chief merit," Strauss declared, "consisted in the fact that he destroyed the dream of the other world, and made the present all which one need care about, so that what is not here exists nowhere." On Martensen's referring to the doctrine of immortality, he answered, "I had scarcely finished reading the 'Phenomenology of the Spirit' (Hegel's most fertile work) when this belief fell away from me like a withered leaf." So he went on, talking in a calm, direct manner, and answering objections with the greatest courtesy. Only

once, in the course of the interview, did he use the language of the scoffer, when he characterized the ascension of Christ as a kind of aëronautics or balloonry (*eine Lustschiffahrt*).

For Martensen the only significance this Ishmaelite in theology had was his unwillingness to receive half-measures, and his presentation to Christendom of a distinct alternative, an *either—or*. As for his writings, he regarded them as worthless—"the fallen and withered leaves of a decaying and dead faith." But if he had no kind of sympathy with his views, he had pity in his heart for the sad, miserable, suffering man who found neither in domestic life nor in the world the happiness and peace he tried to attain. And, as life had in it no bright spot, so the last act of all was unrelieved by any ray of sunshine or of hope. "On his death-bed," we are told, "he turned over the leaves of Plato's *Phædo* (on immortality); but, laying aside the book, he said, 'This is an old-fashioned stand-point' (*Das ist ein veralteter Standpunkt*). And so he left this world with its many old-fashioned stand-points."

Very different from Daub and Strauss were the other two whom we have mentioned as crossing his path at this time.

Franz Baader, the greatest speculative theologian modern Catholicism has produced, was Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the University of Munich; and it was there Martensen met him, and came under the spell of his rare theosophic mind. This good man was wholly devoid of method; yet there were in him the elements of an all-comprehensive system; and whatever subject he treated, whether it had to do with the heavenly mysteries of love and grace, or the infernal ones of sin and hate, he always spoke from the center, and with the full force of conviction. His theme, *con amore*, was the revelation of God in Christ. But another thought, which he was never tired of repeating, was, that philosophy must, in order to be true, be religious philosophy. In philosophizing about religion, he maintained it is not enough to stand on the outside of it, and make it the object of thought; it is only he who is personally religious who can philosophize about it; all others can only speak about it in the same way as the blind do about color.

Martensen perhaps derived more true spiritual benefit from this too little-known thinker than from any other of his

teachers. Echoes of his views are to be found in all his writings, and especially in his "Dogmatics," and his not less remarkable "Jacob Böhme."

It was also while studying at Munich he got to know Schelling, who was lecturer at the University. He was greatly pleased with his mythical views; but he could not bear his philosophy, because it presumed to measure itself with Christianity, and sought to explain its meaning in the same way as it explained nature, or mythology, or any other great world-phenomenon. In this connection he mentions, and seemingly with approval, Baader's opinion regarding him: "If he was a Christian, he lived with his unchristian philosophy very much as a Christian lives with a heathen wife." Yet notwithstanding his objective system of truth, which owned no authority, and by means of whose underived light he hoped to see into all things, Martensen predicts a great future for this philosopher: "When the materialistic cloud now hanging over the intellectual horizon shall disappear, and allow men once more to occupy themselves with the highest problems of thought and being, he shall then take his rightful place as a guide and a leader with Plato and Aristotle, whose true kinsfellow he is."

In this way Martensen passed his time abroad. Wherever he went he gathered all the light he could on the problems of the divine revelation and the human consciousness. He was a kind of modern Peripatetic, disputing not only in the class-room, but on the street and in the highway, with every one whom he thought could help him.

But, though mention has only been made of these severer studies and pursuits, it is by no means to be supposed he did nothing but engage in them. Indeed, it was quite otherwise. He was fond of poetry, music, and painting; and many of his happiest hours were spent in the company of these sister Muses. He was also a not infrequent visitor at the opera and the theater. These more sublunary recreations not only helped to unbend the mind after the strain to which it was put during the day, but brought before him some phases of foreign life and character which would elsewise have escaped him.

This sojourn abroad constituted the most important era in his mental training. His studies, and interviews with the

great thinkers of his age, gave a new significance to his faith and thought. What of truth there was in them stood out all the clearer after the purgatory of doubt and conflict through which they had passed; and what of real practical worth was in them was indelibly registered on the roll of his experience. He defined his own stand-point at this time in the old scholastic formula, *credo ut intelligam.* With him faith was the *prius*, the basis of all knowledge. This principle, which he first clearly seized and articulated under the teaching and guidance of Baader, is the key to his doctrine of knowledge, and has impressed itself on all his writings. Here, at length, he discovered a foundation on which he could build; and, having found it, doubt seems to have troubled him no more, for he at once set about constructing those monuments of learning and piety which have not only made his name famous, but have brought additional luster to that *scientia scientiarum* he knew and loved so well.

In the harvest of 1836, after two years' absence, he returned to his native land. His student days, the romance-time of young manhood, were now over; and before him lay the prose of life's daily routine. The following winter found him busy preparing his licentiate thesis. The subject he chose was his favorite one, the autonomy of self-consciousness (*De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ*). This treatise, the plan of which he conceived while under the influence of Baader, is a most thorough and unsparing criticism of the subjective rationalism of Kant and Schleiermacher. It was published in Latin, and at once placed him in the first rank of theologians. In the course of a few years it was translated into Danish and German, and received a warm welcome at home and abroad.

In 1838 he was appointed lecturer on Moral Philosophy in the University, and two years later he was made Ordinary Professor. His lectures, colored by Hegelianism, and yet proceeding from the old basis of faith, created an immense impression. "A new movement manifested itself among the students of theology," and his class-room was thronged with crowds of eager hearers. In 1840 he got the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Keil, in consideration of his work on the "Autonomy of Consciousness"—a compliment which he so highly appreciated that he dedicated to the faculty of that

University his treatise on Mysticism, called "Meister Eckart," then just finished. Next year he published a selection from his lectures, entitled "Outlines of Moral Philosophy"—a work which gives ethical expression to the fundamental conceptions in his "Christian Dogmatics." Then there followed a course of prolonged study, embracing theology, ethics, symbolics, and theosophy.

He was appointed Court Preacher in 1845; and, though he still continued his lectures, he devoted himself with his usual care and thoroughness to the discharge of his duties. The question how he could best preach lay heavily on him, and he did what he could to answer it. He had discussions about it with every distinguished preacher he knew; and he made a special study of the sermons of Mynster, the greatest of Danish preachers; of Schleiermacher, who is unsurpassed for wealth of ethical ideas; and of Herder, the representative preacher of humanity. But the more he preached and studied, the more he believed, with Grundtvig and our own Martineau, that preaching is no art, but the highest product of the human spirit—higher than poetry or painting—because engaging the whole inner being. That he was himself an eloquent and illustrious preacher we are assured, not only by his published sermons, but by those persons who heard him preach.

In 1849, after being engaged on it for many years, Martensen published the most famous and best known of all his works—his "Christian Dogmatics." He intended this clear and beautifully written compendium of the doctrines of Christianity for the general reader as well as for the student and the theologian. So solicitous was he it should be serviceable in this respect that he submitted its pages, while he was correcting them for the press, to the poetess Frederika Bremer. Her enthusiastic appreciation of it led him to hope it might receive general attention and commendation. Nor was he deceived in this. From the first its popularity was unprecedented. It has been translated into almost every language in Europe. Even the Propaganda at Rome thought it necessary, in order to counteract its influence, to lecture against it. The only detracting voice, in any of the other Churches, whether Lutheran (to which he himself belonged) or Reformed, was that of Rasmus Neilsen, his own countryman and friend. In one of the bit-

terest of polemics he characterized it as a complete failure, misstating and misunderstanding the great problems of faith and knowledge with which it attempts to grapple. But these attacks are now forgotten; and, although thirty-six years have passed since its first appearance, it is still as far from being superseded as ever. For beauty of expression, for suggestiveness of thought, for deep insight into the very heart of truth, and for steady glow of faith and piety, it is, perhaps, unique in the whole range of theological literature.

Such a man, in every way so capable, could not long remain unrecognized. He was first offered the bishopric of Schleswig, which, for political as well as personal reasons, he refused. But on the primacy of Denmark becoming vacant through the death of Mynster, he was named for the high office, and did what he could to obtain it. The king's choice, however, was Clausen, the distinguished and brilliant representative of the rationalistic school; but as the greater part of the clergy and the influential laity were on Martensen's side, he was in the end elected.

It is too long and wearisome a story to enter into the details of his official labors, and his acts of ecclesiastical administration and reform, during the thirty years he was Bishop of Seeland; and, instead, we may content ourselves with a glimpse at the literary work he accomplished during this period.

Shortly after his installation as Bishop he wrote "Reminiscences" of his old friend Mynster. The book is not a biography, in the true sense of the term, but it is something better —a picture of his inner life-movement. In this little memoir the key-note of his ethical system is already indicated. It is, however, in his "Christian Ethics"—begun in 1871 and completed in 1878—that this system finds its perfect expression and development. This popular, yet singularly philosophical, work opens with the conception of the Good, or the kingdom of God, as the absolute aim of man's will and voluntary action. It shows how this ideal—only perfectly attained through the Incarnation—bears on life in its general, individual, and social aspects. In doing so it brings out, with much learning and skill, the relations existing between the human and the divine, the worldly and the spiritual—those contrasts in life which so often perplex and confound us.

There is nothing in the world's great market-place, nothing in commerce, science, art, or æsthetics, which lies essentially outside of Christianity. The opposite view it characterizes as Manichæan, and as affording a distorted representation of religion.

In contradistinction to this caricature of Christianity, which establishes a deep impassable gulf between man's religious life and his earthly sphere of action—between life in God and life in the world—true Christianity requires that all shall be summed up under Christ as Head (Eph. i, 10), which would be an impossibility if Christianity and the world were absolutely opposed in their nature.*

This attempted, and, so far, successful harmony between what is human and divine in the world and in life met a want experienced by thinking men, and had much to do with the favorable reception the work received wherever it became known. It has helped to place ethics on a proper and intelligible basis, and done much to raise it to the same distinct platform as dogmatics. The only other work of importance he wrote was "Jacob Böhme." In this more than in any of his writings he defines his hostile relation to the ruling philosophic systems of his time, especially those that deny the existence of the supernatural world, and acknowledge phenomena, without any inner and abiding reality, to be all. Here, too, he explains, at greater length and with more distinctness than in his "Dogmatics," such ideas as the relation between nature and spirit; the divine immanent life, and the glory of God and of the uncreated heavens. This suggestive and interesting book, though much read in Denmark and in Germany, is scarcely known on this side of the Channel. Its wealth of ideas and its dogmatic and apologetic value make it eminently worthy of being translated into English.† His last literary undertaking was his Autobiography.‡ As a psychological study it is as charming and full of interest as the life of Robertson of Brighton. It guides us through many systems of thought; it brings us into personal communication with those

* "Christian Ethics" (English translation), p. 25.

† It has now been translated, and is published in convenient form by Hodder Stoughton, London.

‡ *Af mit Levnet:* "From my Life," 3 vols., 1882–83, and translated into German in 1883–84 by Michelsen.

whose names stand the highest on the *rôle* of fame; and, above all, it leads us into the clear and bracing atmosphere of faith, where all is seen in the pure light of God, and his revelation in Jesus Christ.

Martensen was singularly happy in his domestic relations. Shortly after his return from his travels he married Matilda Helen Hess, daughter of a ship captain. After nine years of married life, this "pure soul," as he calls her, died, and left him with two children, a son and daughter. In 1848 he married again. His second wife was Virginne Henrietta Constance Bidoulac, who, as far as I can learn, still survives him. This marriage he regarded as the best and greatest blessing of his life. She was his good genius for thirty-six years, helping him with her counsels, and bringing sunshine with her wherever she went.

On Sunday, the 3d of February, 1884, this good man and distinguished theologian fell asleep in peace. All ranks, from the humble student to the king, mourned his loss as a true son of the Fatherland and of the Church; and they laid him with sorrow in his last resting-place, in his own cathedral.

The loss was more than national; every Christian land shared in it. Of the great religious teachers which this century has produced, Martensen will, for many, occupy the foremost place. If he is not so philosophical and far-reaching as Schleiermacher, he is a surer and more decided guide; if he is not such an historical genius as Dorner, he has more grace of style and faculty of method; and if, in some respects, he has not the speculative breadth of Rothe, his spiritual vision is clearer, and he moves through the domains of faith and knowledge with a firmer tread. Some may reproach him for his conservatism and mystical tendencies; but though he resisted, in theology and in politics, the advances of a spurious liberalism, his spirit was not bound by any narrow conventional limits; and though he loved to hold profound communion with God, and to think deeply on the mysteries of his divine self-manifestation, his thought was never one-sided, nor did it lead him into fanciful extravagances of any kind. He was a man of profoundly religious convictions, of strong will, large sympathies, and wide scholarship; and Christendom will not, I am sure, either readily or willingly let his name sink into oblivion.

As we write there are before us two portraits of Dr. Marten-

sen—the one taken in youth, the other in old age. The first bears a finely-chiseled, intellectual countenance, such as Melanchthon might have carried. The forehead is high and broad; the nose is slightly Grecian; the mouth is firm, and barely escapes belonging to the kind known as *os sublime;* the chin is small, though not wanting strength of character; the eyes, the most notable feature in the picture, are large and dreamy, full of thoughts and speculations and far-off visions of truth and beauty.* Altogether, it is a highly cultured, amiable, and pleasant face. The other representation is that of him in old age, and in his Bishop's robes. It is the same face, though the lines of thought are more deeply marked, and the hair is whitened, and the eyelids are half-closed, much in the same way as a weather-beaten sailor's are. Let, however, another, who had the honor of his acquaintance, and contributed an interesting and appreciative account of him to the "Expositor," continue the description, which in all points agrees with the portrait, with the exception of the ears—"those handsome volutes to the human capital," as they have been called—and which are here hidden by luxuriant masses of gray hair: "The man who rose to welcome us was not of imposing stature. I fear to seem irreverent if I confess that my attention was seized by his ears. They were very large, and set at right angles to his head, standing out from his pinched face like wings. The eyes, in fact, were the only feature which, to my mind, answered to the fame and public character of the Bishop; they were full, and deep gray in color, but habitually covered by heavy lids through which there shot a sort of mild, steely light. These lids rose in moments of excitement quite suddenly, and showed that the eyes were of unusual size and beauty. On such occasions the little, almost wizened face seemed to wake up, and become charged with intelligence. I am bound to say that, had I not known of his power in dialectics and his strong hand in administration, I should not have had the wit to guess them from his appearance."

* *Habet profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo*—said of Luther by Cajetan.

Art. V.—EVOLUTION IN RELIGION.

Religion did not spring into being, like Minerva, full-grown, but has come to be what it is by a slow and steady growth. In all vegetable growth the future plant is enfolded in the initial bud, and is developed by successive stages. So, too, religion has had its unfoldings, and in order properly to estimate any one of its phases we must consider it in connection with all the forms through which it has passed. We propose to apply this thought to the idea of Christian evolution in Methodism.

We are accustomed to speak of Methodism as a reformation. But the very term which we use to describe it is a borrowed one, and suggests the fact that there had been similiar religious uprisings before, and that this was only one of a number of reformations. A glance at the history of religion will reveal the fact that these successive reformations were not isolated and independent upheavals in the religious world, but that they have followed a definite order in obedience to eternal law, and are only successive evolutions of Christianity.

A religion in order to be adapted to human needs and capacities must be as expansive as human nature. If individual men and society advance and develop, it must keep pace with them, or it will soon be outgrown and become obsolete. It is manifest, therefore, that the reformations in religion must synchronize with the revolutions in society.

The nature of mind is such that knowledge can be acquired only by successive increments. The temple of knowledge, whether of material or spiritual things, cannot be carved out of a single block, but must be built by adding stone to stone, placing one upon another. The education of an individual is the result of a continuous process, requiring many things to be first learned and afterward to be unlearned in order to the next advance. But as the education of a nation or race of men requires not simply the mental and moral development of the individuals composing it, but also the co-ordinating of all its various members, its progress will be slow in proportion to the complexity of society.

The world moves slowly, but it moves. It has taken six

thousand years (perhaps much more) for man to reach his present eminence in politics, in arts, in science, in literature, and in civilization; and the same law which made his progress so slow in those departments of knowledge has also fettered his feet in the march of religion, and determined the nineteenth century of the Christian era as the age when religious thought and feeling should blossom out in their present form.

Bagehot, in his "Physics and Politics," regarding primitive man as a savage, has undertaken to show the stages in human government which were necessary in order to lift him from his brutal, lawless state to civilization and self-government. He tells us, that the first thing for the savage to learn is law and authority, and hence despotism was necessarily the first form of government. It took long ages under an iron scepter to crush the outlaw in savage man, and break the spirit of rebellion. To discipline human nature, to act from principle instead of impulse, to recognize and respect the rights of others, and to submit to the decision of authority, was the slow and painful schooling of centuries. When at last the savage was subdued, and tyranny had taught the lessons of law and authority with terrible effect, the next phase in the political development of the race was to unlearn despotism. Men must learn law and authority by bowing unquestioningly before them; but the next step to be taken is to inquire concerning their true source. This saps at once the foundation of the throne, uncrowns the tyrant, and reveals the people themselves as the fountain of all law and authority. You must first press men together into a mass, and rule them by a single will and hand, until each man's individuality is somewhat merged in the nation, so that all shall feel a community of interest. Then the mass must be partially disintegrated, and individual rights must be taught and demanded, and individual manhood asserted. It may have required centuries to so unfold human nature that it shall be capable of obeying and governing at the same time. But until this stage has been reached, self-government is impossible. The true conception of individual manhood and personal rights is a lesson which does not burst suddenly upon a people, but which must be learned a little at a time. After the divine right of kings to rule has been denied and the power of despotism broken, self-government

will pass through many stages in the process of evolution before it reaches pure democracy—that is, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Greece, Carthage, Rome, Venice, the Dutch Republic, and Switzerland, were all successive evolutions of the republican idea, and each was an advance upon all former attempts, yet each retained more or less of the old idea of privileged classes, and none of them realized the perfect idea of popular government. God works in the realm of mind as he does in that of matter. Constant forces, acting steadily, produce sudden catastrophies and overwhelming cataclysms. Dam up a stream and the waters will steadily rise without producing any appreciable result until sufficient power has been accumulated, and then in an instant the dam is swept away and the whole valley is flooded with the surging waters. The fires are burning and seething in the heart of the earth for ages, while the olive and vine grow green on the surface. Men dwell in fancied security in their cities with no indication of approaching calamity. But at last these pent-up fires become resistless, and suddenly nature shudders in an earthquake, toppling the cities to the ground, and the volcano bursts forth in floods of lava, spreading death and destruction on every hand. The forces were constant, but the results were sudden and violent.

So in the march of thought the idea of popular government has been advancing steadily and almost imperceptibly all through the ages; but ever and anon, as it gathered sufficient strength, it has burst forth in political revolutions, shaking the whole surface of society and sweeping away the obstacles that stood in its path. Thus through successive upheavals of society and revolutions of government has God lifted man from the plastic subject of an irresponsible monarch to be at once himself both subject and monarch.

The religious unfolding of the race has followed the same law, and is strikingly analogous to it in its progress. The law was our school-master to bring us to Christ, and a terribly severe master it has been. Whether primitive man was a savage, regarded from a political stand point, or not, is a question which we care not at present to discuss; but that the fall left him a savage morally is unquestionable. The first religious system granted to man regarded and treated him as parents do

their children, or as the savage is treated by his chief. It was a religious despotism in which authority and law flashed before the eye of the Israelite like the fiery swords of the cherubim at Eden before that of Adam. "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not" thundered in the ear of the people at every step in life. Human reason was not appealed to, conscience had scarcely any function to perform, and liberty was a thing unknown under the old covenant. Through outward forms and ceremonies man was taught reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law. The rebel in man was thus to be subdued and the outlaw crushed. First of all, man must be made to bow before the authority of the great King and recognize God's will as the law of his life. The Jewish race was welded into a Church by being forced together in the vise of an iron law.

Judaism was a religion of external forms and ceremonies. It was a treadmill of outward duties, and under it man was a pupil or a machine. That the design of the system went deeper than words and acts we do not deny, but the fact still remains that the phase of religious development under the system was one of outward obedience to positive command, and consisted chiefly in a round of external observances. The letter rather than the spirit—the form of godliness without the power—were the manifested characteristics of the religion of Moses. As the slavery in Egypt compacted Israel into a nation capable of being governed, so the Jewish religion, by its very oppression, prepared the way for Christianity. The hecatombs of sacrifices and the blood-streaming altars were the necessary foundation on which to rear the cross and elevate the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world. Men must learn the majesty of the divine government and the sacredness of law before they can be trusted with the guidance of principles in matters of religion. They must first bow in blind obedience and reverence to divine authority, before they can be admitted into the secret of the Most High and made co-workers with God. Beneath this hard and inflexible shell God was unfolding and maturing, during all the older dispensation, the petals of a spiritual growth which would one day burst into a flower of rarest beauty and sweetest bloom. The years of preparation were long and tedious, but when the fullness of time had come, suddenly Jesus burst

upon the world already prepared for his advent. The incoming of Christianity was a gigantic religious revolution, and before it Judaism vanished like a dream, the temple crumbled to dust, the altars of sacrifice were deserted, and the Jewish nation became extinct.

The Jews were a prepared people, and, in consequence, Christianity assumed at once among them a highly spiritual and glorious form. The apostolic Church was a spiritual brotherhood in which there was no distinction of class, but in which all stood equally related to God as his children. The long schooling of the law had lifted Israel into a capacity for enjoying the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel. Peter, addressing them, exclaimed, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

But the Christian religion was soon to be carried into races and nations which had received no such previous training, and consequently had no such preparation. Grafted upon this new wild stock, Christianity will bloom in very different colors and will produce very different fruit. The law must here go with the Gospel, and Moses and Christ must teach side by side. Sinai and Calvary must be twin mountains, and the lightnings which play around the peak of the one must throw their red glare upon the cross which rises above the other. It may yet take ages of schooling and training before the nations can be elevated to a level with the apostolic Church, and during this long period Christianity will pass through many stages of its evolution and assume many different forms.

Transplanted from the land of the Jews, the religion of Jesus grew and spread mightily in other countries, and took deep root in the heart of Greek and Roman, Goth and Gaul, Vandal and Celt. But it could not be that from this common seed the same harvests should grow on all these different soils. The cultured Greek and barbaric Goth, though they bowed before the same cross, could not be Christians of the same type. The sunlight is pure white, but it always take the color of the glass through which it shines; and so the Christian religion is the same for all races and ages, but each race and age will give to it its specific tint and shadings.

Rome had held the world together with her linked legions for a thousand years, and when at last her power crumbled to pieces there was but one common bond left by which to unite the various races of the empire; and that was the clamp of a common religious faith. The ascendency of the Church soon consolidated the diverse Christian races into one stupendous hierarchy, and thus gave to the world the great mediæval phase of Christianity.

For more than a thousand years Catholicism (and in this term is included both the Eastern and Western branches of the Church) was the embodiment of Christianity. It differed widely from the apostolic Church. It was the embodiment, not of the Gospel only, but of law and Gospel united. It was Judaized Christianity, with a strong element of paganism also. In it the high-priest still stood at the sacrificial altar, offering afresh the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world. The veil of the temple, rent from top to bottom at the crucifixion, re-appeared with the rent fully repaired, separating again the people from the holy of holies. Oblations and incense, new moons and feast-days, rites and ceremonies, held the same place as under the old dispensation, while spiritual worship and personal piety were only secondary and subordinate. The Pantheon at Rome to-day fitly symbolizes the Roman Catholic phase of Christianity. It is a heathen temple, and in the olden times the gods of ancient Rome were ensconced in niches all along its walls and had their shrines. Now it is a Christian Church, no further transformed than by simply the taking down of the old heathen statues and replacing them with statues of virgin and saint, or perhaps calling the heathen statues by Christian names. Roman arms destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, but Roman Catholicism rebuilt it in a thousand places, simply taking out of it patriarch and prophet and high-priest, and substituting martyr and saint and pope.

This first general unfolding of the Christian religion was its legal phase, and it naturally took the form of a spiritual despotism. Denying to men the right of private judgment, silencing every monition of conscience, and ruling them with the pains of penance and the terrors of excommunication, it fashioned them into a common vassalage and taught them unquestioning obedience to law and reverence for authority.

But the same foot which bruises the flower liberates its perfume; and the press which crushes the olive forces out its oil; and the flail whose blows fall heavily upon the threshing-floor beats out the wheat. And so a thousand years of grinding between the upper and nether millstones of Roman Catholicism prepared the fine flour of the Reformation. God had said, "If any man will do my will he shall know of the doctrine." Through obedience men shall rise to clearer views and broader visions of God and religion. The road to freedom runs through bondage, and the path to liberty leads through law. The Church had been in the school of DUTY for more than a thousand years, and at last in due time came her graduation to the school of doctrine.

On the Scala Santa at Rome a hooded monk who had in his cell thoroughly learned the lessons of obedience climbed step by step upon his knees into a new dispensation. While performing a duty imposed upon him by the Church, Luther heard ringing in his soul "The just shall live by faith;" and there half-way up the Scala Santa, amid the throes of penance, was the Reformation born—itself a new evolution of Christianity. It was the transition from *duty* to *doctrine*—from the law to the Gospel—from ethics to faith. At once the authority of the priesthood was denied and defied, the old chained Bible was released from its captivity, and the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures was proclaimed. The priest was no longer a conscience for the people, but each man was declared to be a law unto himself. The uniform mass into which the Church had been compressed and compacted had crystallized and was ready for disintegration; and the moment the right of private judgment was proclaimed every man asserted and exercised it for himself. In this uprising of spiritual manhood the old robes of ecclesiasticism, spangled all over with forms, ceremonies, and penances, fell off, and the Church stood before the world having her loins girt with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, her feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, on her head the helmet of salvation, in her left hand the shield of faith, and in her right the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. The battle of truth was now to be fought, and every Christian was to be a hero in the fight. For two hundred years there-

after the champions of the Church met and contended in the arena of debate. Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Beza, Knox, Cranmer, are tall figures who stride like giants across the plains of the Reformation. In the conflict of truth where each man exercised his own judgment unterrified by authority it could not be otherwise than that different conclusions would be reached and different schools formed. Error clings tenaciously wherever it has been allowed to fasten its roots, and it was not easy therefore for the Reformers to shake it off at once. Luther tore loose from "Transubstantiation," but went down to his grave in the grip of "Consubstantiation." Little by little, and through many successive struggles, did the Church rise above superstition and error to a clear apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus. As the result of this conflict the Reformation period was an age of creeds and sects. Nearly all the present forms of faith in Protestantism were born during that period; and they all rested, not upon different forms of government or polity, nor upon different bases of morality, but upon different interpretations of the Bible. Admission to the Church was through the Catechism. A man's belief counted for more than the purity of his life. The fight of faith was a conflict of doctrines, and every arrow must be feathered with a proof-text. Intellect was emancipated; thought ransacked God's word; the human mind, fed thus with divine food, developed giant strength; and during this period flourished the theologians of all later times. The Church had been schooled under Roman Catholicism to obey law and respect authority. Under the Reformation she interpreted the divine law and traced all authority in religion up to the Eternal Throne.

But the Reformation scarcely realized the lofty type of Christianity exhibited in miniature in the apostolic Church. It was a great advance upon Roman Catholicism in the right direction, but it stopped short of the New Testament goal. Duty comes first, doctrine next, and experience last. Do God's will and you shall know of the doctrine. Believe the doctrine and you shall have the experience.

The third and last great evolution of Christianity is a little less than a hundred and fifty years old. John Wesley, though he had learned all that the theologians could teach him of doc-

trine, yet pined and prayed to know more of God and salvation. He had passed through the schools and had developed a mental vigor and penetration second to none, yet in conversation with the Moravians at Savannah and in London he discovered himself to be utterly ignorant of the experience which they possessed and enjoyed. This higher phase of Christianity—this experimental religion—he sought in almost all possible ways. He sought it under the law in self-sacrificing labors for humanity. He sought it in doctrine, in intensest study and investigation, but failed to find it. At last in a small company met in a private room, in Aldersgate Street, London, while one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, he tells us: "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone—for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Thus, while Luther's doctrine was being read, he was lifted above doctrine and was carried beyond the Reformation into soul-experience of divine things. That moment Methodism was born, and from that hour Christianity has been unfolding into new beauty and presenting a new phase to the world. Individuals and little societies, here and there through all the ages, had known what the witness of the Spirit meant, and had thus kept alive in the minds of men the memory of the apostolic Church; but never until the days of the Wesleys did the modern Church rise into the realm of experimental religion and make it the one thing needful. Methodism is nothing but experimental religion. It is not any form of Church government, for we recognize it alike in all the forms of Methodism, notwithstanding the great difference in their forms of government. It is not in any creed, nor in any form of orthodoxy. Wesley was Arminian, and Whitefield was Calvinistic, but both were Methodists. It cannot be confined within any Church organization, but is overflowing constantly into all the Churches. Men who sing and get happy in religion are recognized as Methodists, no matter to what communion they belong, and are called by that name, sometimes in derision, but not so much as formerly, to distinguish them as experimental Christians. The organic Methodist Churches have no monopoly of Methodism. It has found its way into the Protestant Episco-

pal Church and put new life into it. It has entered the Presbyterian Church and made men forget "fore-ordination" and "predestination" and the "final perseverance of the saints" in the rapturous joy of a present salvation. It has gone and stood beside the pool in the Baptist Church, covered so unmistakably with the baptism of the Holy Ghost that the baptizers, like their great prototype, have been compelled to exclaim, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" It is spreading in the Lutheran Church and covering the German's Fatherland, and under its inspiration men do not now stop with the sentence, "The just shall live by faith;" but, lifting their voice to a higher key, they are now shouting, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." Methodism does not mean simply a new Church organization—it means a new evolution in religion which is lifting the whole Christian Church into the "full assurance of faith." It is primitive Christianity resuscitated, and is destined to bring back the apostolic Church and plant it afresh over all Christendom. It does not bind Christians together by the force of law and authority; it does not unite them by subscription to a common creed; it makes them one by a common experience, and unites them in a great brotherhood by conscious vital union with the Lord Jesus Christ.

Methodism does not occupy the position of an antagonist to any former religious development. Like her Master, she comes "not to destroy, but to fulfill." She teaches no less reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law than does Roman Catholicism. She insists no less upon a knowledge of the Scriptures and acceptance by faith of their doctrines than the Churches of the Reformation. But in addition to and beyond all these she teaches with unmistakable emphasis that "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." She does not stand as a rival to any other denomination, seeking to proselyte the members of other communions to her altars. Her great mission is to spread scriptural holiness over all lands and to bless all the Churches by lifting them out of the bondage of servants into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Methodism is not so much a denomination as it is an inspiration and a life for all the denominations. Chris-

tianity had before taken hold of human hands and heads—in Methodism it lays hold also of human hearts. Methodism is the last of a long series of religious unfoldings and is the outgrowth of all that had gone before. She does not stand related as a sister denomination to the Churches of the Reformation, or to the Greek and Latin Churches which preceded them. She is the daughter of the Reformation and the granddaughter of Catholicism. It sometimes happens that family resemblances will skip over one or more generations, and then the features of a long-buried ancestor re-appear in the child. So Methodism, skipping over her immediate ancestors, is a reproduction of the apostolic Church. The resemblance is so great that no one can mistake their relationship. Her lineage is the secret of her history and of her destiny. She is the latest born daughter of Zion and is heir to the throne.

Art. VI.—THE BOOK CONCERN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The article in "Simpson's Cyclopedia of Methodism" entitled "Book Concern" is both able and generally correct so far as it goes, but it is deficient in some early historical particulars. These are valuable; and the writer, having them in his hands, proposes in this sketch to give to the readers of the "Methodist Review" an authentic account of the early history of that great institution.

The circulation of religious books by the preachers in America, under the Rev. John Wesley, began with the introduction of Methodism, and proved to be so profitable that the sales made were reported to the Annual Conference, and the proceeds thrown into a general fund for distribution among the preachers, to help in their maintenance. This will be seen by reference to the "Minutes of a Conference held at Ellis's Preach^{s} House in Sussex Cot^{y}, Virginia, April 17, 1782, and adjourned to Balt. Town May 21, inclusive."

The copy from which the quotation is made is in manuscript, no printed copies having yet been issued. In these Minutes is the following:

Q. 10. What shall be done to get a regular and impartial supply for the maintenance of the preachers?

*Ans*r. Let every thing they receive either in money or cloths be valued by the stewards at Quarter-meets and an acct of the preachers' deficiencies given in to bring to Conference, that they may be supplied by the profits aris[s] from the Books and the Conference Collection.

The book business, after the organization of the Church, was for a few years conducted by the whole body of "assistants" to the Bishop, and there is no evidence that any particular person was designated or employed specially to conduct this work. Two items taken from an old copy of the Minutes of the Christmas Conference held in Baltimore, Md., beginning December 27, 1784, will show this. On page 19, in answer to question 51, "Why are we not more knowing?" is the following: "But I have no Books."—"We desire the Assistants will take care that all the large Societies provide Mr. Wesley's Works for the use of the Preachers." And on page 31, in answer to question 73: "What can be done in order to revive the work of God where it is decayed?" we have, "5. Be active in dispersing Mr. Wesley's Books. Every Assistant may beg money of the rich to buy books for the poor."

The depositories were probably in the principal cities and towns under Methodist influence, and whatever publishing was done was sometimes at one place and sometimes at another. In the "Cyclopedia" article above referred to, the impression is made that the Rev. John Dickins, who served the Methodist Societies and Church in New York from 1783, with the exception of 1785 to 1789, was appointed to that charge "for the purpose of superintending our book business." Yet, if that was the case, it is matter of surprise that so important a tract as that of the Annual Minutes of Conference should be issued in places so remote from him. The Minutes of the Christmas Conference (see above) were issued from the press in Philadelphia, as the following will show, namely: "Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV."* The Minutes of the Annual

* The title of the Minutes above referred to is: "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and others, at a Conference, begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the Year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline,

Conferences of 1785, 1786, 1787, were printed in Baltimore, Md., the first and last by John Hayes, in Light Street, and that of 1786 by William Goddard, in Market Street. In 1789—the year when John Dickins was stationed in Philadelphia, having the twofold charge of pastor of the church in that city and of book steward for the general connection—the Minutes were printed in New York, "by William Ross, in Broad Street;" and the Minutes of the sessions of the "Council" of 1789 and 1790 were published by William Goddard and James Angell, in Baltimore. In the Constitution of the Council of 1789, while under the third rule it was resolved that the Council "should direct and manage all the Printing which may be done, from Time to Time for the Use and Benefit of the Methodist Church in America," it was determined under Rule 6 that

> In the Intervals of the Council, the Bishop shall have power to act in all contingent Occurrences relative to the Printing Business, or the Education and Economy of the College.

Having incorporated these items in the Constitution, the Council adopted among other resolutions, the closing, No. 9, namely:

> Considering the Weight of the Connection, the Concerns of the College, and the *Printing Business* [the italics are ours], it is resolved that another Council shall be convened at *Baltimore*, on the first day of December, 1790.

John Dickins was a member of that Council, as elder from the district of Pennsylvania.

In 1790 the Annual Minutes report that Philip Cox was appointed traveling book steward for Virginia, William Thomas for the Peninsula (East Maryland, Delaware, and the Eastern Shore of Virginia), and John Dickins as "Superintendent of the Printing and Book-business." These appointments were confirmed by the Council in its ensuing session; but the appointment of traveling book stewards was restricted to the Council when in session, upon the recommendation of "the Presiding Elder and Conference of a District, and, in the intervals of Council, by the Bishops;" and the publication of any matter outside of the books ordered to be issued by the Council

for the Ministers, Preachers, and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV."

was to be submitted to a publishing committee, which was intrusted with "full power to publish or suppress, as thought most proper." Richard Whatcoat, Henry Willis, Thomas Haskins, and John Dickins, "or any two of them," were the committee.

It will be seen, further, that the Methodist Book Concern, which in our day is a giant, was growing into existence; but its full development was to come thereafter. The Council continued:

Quest. What books shall be published in the course of the two following years?

Ans. The Arminian Magazine; the Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Works; Hymn Books; the Saint's Rest; the Christian's Pattern; the Primitive Physic; the Form of Discipline; Instructions for Children; and the Pamphlet on Baptism. But the Bishops shall have a discretionary power of preparing the controversy for the Magazine, and publishing such tracts as *they* may think necessary for the benefit of the connection: and John Dickins shall have a discretionary power of limiting the publications, according to the state of the finances.

Quest. Shall we publish Mr. Wesley's four volumes of Sermons before the sitting of the next Council?

Ans. If our finances will admit of it, and a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained.

Quest. Shall the Bishop have power to draw any money out of the book-profits, for the *partial* supply of any Church or Preacher that may be in pressing need?

Ans. By the recommendation of the Elder of a district, the Bishop may draw as far as *Three Pounds* per month [Bishop Simpson has it three pounds per annum], but no farther.

It is to be inferred that, prior to the session of the Council of 1790, a book fund had been duly organized and was in active operation. On page 7 of the Minutes of the Council is the following:

Quest. What money is now in hand belonging to the Preachers' Fund?

Ans. One Hundred and Sixty-eight Pounds One Shilling and Four Pence.

Quest. What can be done to secure money, that may be collected for this purpose, in the *future?*

Ans. Let it be deposited in the Book-Fund, and draw lawful interest.

Quest. How shall money be drawn, from time to time, out of this Fund, for the relief of distressed Preachers?

Ans. When *such* a Preacher is recommended by a Conference,

the Bishop shall immediately draw an order for books, or money, to be obtained in any circuit or district.

The deposit of the Preachers' Fund with the Book Fund Committee began at once, as may be seen by referring to the Annual Conference Minutes. In 1792 question numbered 16 was:

Quest. What is the sum total for which the Book Concern is now accountable to the Preachers' Fund?
Ans. £182 16*s.* 3*d.*

In 1793 the same question was asked, and the answer was, "£301 17*s.* 6*d.*;" in 1794 it was, £415 7*s.* 8*d.* In 1795 the question was:

Quest. 14. For what sum is the Book Fund now responsible to the Preachers' Fund?
Ans. £400 17*s.* 9*d.*

The answer to this question in 1796 was £419 0*s.* 1½*d.* This important matter is here given in order that we may account to some extent for the embarrassment of the Book Concern, as will be seen below. From 1796 the whole matter was left out of the Annual Conference Minutes.

After the close of the Council of 1790, the publishing interests of the Church were mainly carried forward in Philadelphia. Mr. Dickins had not, however, secured a department for printing in the same building where he was located—it was but an office for his work of superintendency, and a room for the deposit and sale of books. This room was changed three times while he had charge of the Book Concern. The first room was No. 182 Race Street; in 1794 it was No. 44 North Second Street, near Arch; then it was changed to No. 50 on the same street. The printing was done by Parry Hall, 149 Chestnut Street; and by Henry Tuckniss, No. 25 Church Alley.

Of the books published by the Concern from its beginning to the year 1796, inclusive, the following is a catalogue:

Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament," 3 vols.; the "Arminian Magazine," 2 vols.; Thomas à Kempis; the "Form of Discipline for the Methodist Church, as revised at the General Conference, 1792," with Treatises on Predestination, Perseverance, Christian Perfection, Baptism, etc., all bound together; "The Experience of Mr. Freeborn Garrettson;" a pocket hymn book, containing three hundred hymns; an abridgment of Mr.

Rowe's "Devout Exercises of the Heart;" "The Saint's Everlasting Rest;" Mr. John Fletcher's Works, 6 vols.; the first volume of Mr. Francis Asbury's Journal; the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, vol. i; the Rev. John Wesley's Life; Extract from Law's "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life;" Spiritual Letters, etc., by the Rev. John Fletcher; "Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense," by the same; Sermons by the Rev. John Wesley, published one volume at a time—the first and second volumes published; Doddridge's "Sermons to Young People;" Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, from the year 1773 to 1794, inclusive.

These were all bound volumes; besides these were the following, stitched:

"An Extract on Infant Baptism;" a "Funeral Discourse on the Death of the Rev. John Wesley;" a tract on Slavery; a Scriptural Catechism; Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, for several late years, separately; the "Life of Monsieur de Renty;" the "Manners of the Ancient Christians;" "A Defense of Methodism;" "Nicodemus; or, a Treatise on the Fear of Man;" and Letters by Jane Cooper.

Thus we find that after six years from the beginning the Book Concern had issued twenty-seven bound volumes, and about fifteen tracts, the same being multiplied by hundreds and thousands, and scattered by the preachers throughout the bounds of American Methodism.

By reason of the loss of the Minutes of the General Conference of 1792, and also, according to Dr. Bangs's statement (see his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii), of 1796, the full proceedings of those sessions cannot be given; but it is evident from facts furnished in the Annual Conference Minutes that the interests of the Book Concern were closely guarded.

To add to the valuable material furnished by Drs. Nathan Bangs and Abel Stevens in their Church histories, the following is taken from the manuscript Journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper concerning the General Conference of 1792. He says:

Thursday, Nov. 1. General Conference sat at 9 o'clock A. M. We had a large concourse of preachers from throughout the United States, and two from Nova Scotia. In all we had in this Conference a hundred and fourteen regular members, besides a number who were not regular members. Our business began in great love and unity. We took up all this day in preparing our rules and regulations for proceeding through the Conference:

the Bishop (Coke) to preside in the business; a Moderator was appointed daily to keep order; a committee of eight, two Bishops and six Elders, was appointed to prepare the business for the Conference. We formed ourselves in regular legislative order: motions made, seconded, debated, called for, put, voted, and carried. We appointed for preaching to be every night and morning while Conference should hold, by the preachers in order—a new preacher every time.

During Conference we had much debating upon various subjects; but still love continued. We spoke plainly and freely what was in our minds; made several alterations and improvements in our form of discipline. I believe great good will result from this Conference, though there are four or five preachers much dissatisfied at some things that were done. Several were ordained; a few missionaries were sent to different parts—one to [New] Grenada; one to Newfoundland; two to Nova Scotia, etc.

Thursday, Nov. 15. We this day finished our business in Conference about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. We returned our unanimous thanks to Dr. Coke for his labors in serving the Conference.

The appointment of John Dickins as Superintendent of the Book Concern was continued, as also that of book stewards, whose duty it was chiefly to circulate the books sold by the Church. Their number increased, from year to year, until after the General Conference of 1796, when the system of appointing book agents other than the General Superintendent gradually died out.

The General Conference of 1796 did not, as in the previous session of that body, also of the Council, appoint special persons to act as a committee to regulate the publications from the Book Concern, but intrusted that matter to the Philadelphia Annual Conference; but not having time for such work, a new regulation was provided, as is shown in the Minutes for 1797. On pages 19, 20, appears the following Minutes:

Quest. 14. What regulations have been made in respect to the Printing business and the publication of books?

Ans. The Philadelphia Conference, in whom the management of these affairs was invested by the General Conference, and who have not time during their annual sittings to complete this business, have, by the advice and consent of Bishop Asbury, unanimously appointed the following persons to be a standing committee, namely:

Ezekiel Cooper, *Chairman.*

Thomas Ware, John M'Claskey, Christopher Spry, Presiding Elders; William McLenahan, Richard Swain, Solomon Sharp,

Charles Cavender, Elders. The above committee are to meet in Philadelphia, on the 2nd of January, 1798, and once a quarter afterward, or oftener if necessary, to consider and determine what manuscripts, books, or pamphlets shall be printed.

Four of the said committee, when met as above, shall proceed to business, provided that the chairman and one of the presiding elders be present. And the general book steward shall lay before the committee all manuscripts, books, and pamphlets which are designed for publication, except such as the General Conference has authorized him to publish.

This was done at the Conference held in Smyrna, Del., then known as Duck Creek Cross-Roads, begun October 10, 1797. It was to have met in Philadelphia, but the prevalence of the yellow fever in that city caused the change.

The Book Committee was called together nearly two weeks earlier than the time designed by the Conference, probably because Dr. Coke could be with them to counsel and aid them. Mr. Cooper has left the following account:

Philadelphia, Wed., 20th *Dec.*, 1797. We sat on the business committed to us by the Conference. We had Dr. Coke, Bro' Spry, M'Claskey, Swain, Sharp, Cavender, and myself. We sat eight days closely on the business: fixing and preparing different books for the press, particularly the Form of Discipline with Explanatory Notes; four Sermons on the Duty of the Gospel Ministry, by Doctor Coke—and resolved on sundry other publications; and made a few regulations respecting the Book Concern.

In 1784, at the Christmas Conference, the Preachers' Fund was organized, which, in 1796, was changed in its title to the Chartered Fund; and, 1797, this organization was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Into this establishment, as Simpson's Cyclopedia says, the General Conference of 1796 ordered that "the proceeds of the sales of our books, after authorship debts are paid, and a sufficient capital is provided for carrying on the business," should be deposited.

The affairs of the Book Concern were thrown into much confusion by the death of John Dickins, the superintendent, in September, 1798. A week after that sad event Bishop Asbury wrote to Ezekiel Cooper, then stationed in Wilmington, Del., the following letter:

GERMANTOWN, *Oct.* 4, 1798.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: What I have greatly feared for years hath now taken place: Dickins the generous, the just, the

faithful, skillful Dickins is dead! I have had but one day to deliberate—duty, necessity calleth me to be precipitant. You will anticipate what I am going to write. It is to you, and you only, I can look at present, in the recess of the Philadelphia Conference, to assist Asbury Dickins in the conducting our work as heretofore. You will correct the press? You will superintend the state and entries of the various accounts, that the Connection and the family suffer no material injury? The Magazine must be continued; 5 or 10,000 Hymn Books will be wanting immediately, and sundry other books. Brother Lee will, if he is furnished with the proper papers, collect what money can be obtained southward; we have done what we could eastward. My dear brother, I need say but little; you will have it in your power to render the Connection and family such extensive service as your heart, I hope, desires.

I can only appoint at present, that the cause and family may not suffer. What the Philadelphia Conference will do is with them. You know my ideas of the business. I hope to be at Isaac Hersey's on Friday evening, at North East on Sabbath.

My health is greatly repaired, but O, what is life? We have had great prospects eastward. As soon as the city is accessible you will go in. We shall send the Minutes for the present year. My long-lost manuscript Journal I left with Betsy Dickins. [She had died on the same day her father was called.] I must read it over before any thing can be done. I am afraid to have it sent but by a sure hand, by land. I feel resolved, if the Conference pleaseth, to publish my scraps of Journals as my all to the Connection, and answer to those that trouble me. In this sickly state of things I must make haste. I am as ever, thine,

FRANCIS ASBURY.

Some letters written by Mr. O'Kelly, now in Philadelphia, to Mr. Wesley and the Doctor, I wanted to confront that wonderful man. Brother Lee, and some others, with myself, premeditate to attend the Republican Conference to demand the author of the book entitled Christicola, and combat the charges as false.

This letter was received by Mr. Cooper twenty days after it was written, and, reluctantly, he took charge of the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Dickins, arriving at Philadelphia on the 1st of December, the fever having somewhat abated. Upon looking into the affairs of the Book Concern, after two weeks' careful investigation, he was not inclined to engage in the work as Agent during that winter. He says:

There is a considerable incumbrance on it, which I am not willing to take upon myself; and the executors of Mr. Dickins's estate will not give me the property on hand unless I will first

assume the debt due from the Concern, which is more than four thousand five hundred dollars. I proposed that I would be accountable for as much as the amount of property put into my hand, or, that I would be accountable for all the property which I received either in books or money, in the payments made by the different preachers in debt to the Concern; but that I should not engage to pay a large debt upon the credit of debts due to the Concern scattered abroad from New Hampshire to Georgia, and some of it in very doubtful hands, and of many years' standing. So I, of course, do not engage in the business till further instructions, and a suitable stipulation between me and the Conference, or between the Bishop and me.

Mr. Cooper's conclusion was communicated to Bishop Asbury, and drew from him the following letter, which, like the one previously given, appears for the first time in print. It is written on a broken sheet of paper, and has also, on the same sheet, a letter from Rev. Jesse Lee, who was Mr. Asbury's traveling companion:

January 8, 1799.

My very dear Friend: I anticipated the difficulties that would come in your way of conducting the Book Concern. It was not in my power to stipulate with you for what sum and for what time you should have the management. We feel ourselves under doubts with respect to remitting money without special assurances of the application, and proper security for our property. We cannot desire any person to do our work for nothing; yet we want it punctually done. Brother Haskins's and Asbury Dickins's letters came while the Conference was sitting in this city. Conference voted, hit or miss, to carry on the work forthwith; and nominated several Books to be printed immediately. Conference agreed that a committee should consider the contents of your letter received this day.

We feel our doubts concerning the printing more books at present. We have some scruples upon our minds, if it will be possible to carry on the work in Philadelphia in future. The collecting of money will be attended to by Brother Lee with the greatest activity and punctuality. If you stay in town I wish you would see books sent to orders, that we may sell off with great speed. I judge it will not be improper for you, upon the side and safety of the Connection, to keep a list of money paid to the executors, and how it is applied; and you may keep an account of all the books you send out, and receive the cash for them; and what you shall have for your service you must leave to the Conference. How to talk at the distance of 700 miles is not easy; my infirmity, and the general abuse I have had from men that have risen up against us, and the great suspicions raised in the minds of [some of] the ministry still with us, make me

very cautious in my movements. I am with respect and heartfelt concern thy Brother in Jesus, FRANCIS ASBURY.

If I should not write to Brother Haskins you may show him this letter and welcome.

Mr. Lee's letter was:

CHARLESTON, *January* 9, 1799.

DEAR BROTHER: I have liberty, from Mr. Asbury, to write to you and request you to have the Minutes of the last year's Conferences printed—from one to two thousand copies, or any number you please not exceeding 2,000. And if the Philadelphia Conference should disapprove of it, I will engage to pay you the money that shall be expended, and take the whole concern on myself. If you are unwilling to have them printed, please let me know of it against I get to Baltimore, and I expect I shall have them printed at Baltimore. I think it is quite likely the Book business will be removed to Baltimore. Asbury Dickins had the copy of the Minutes. I remain, yours in love, JESSE LEE.

P. S. I expect to collect a good deal of Book Money, but shall feel unwilling to send it forward till I can hear that some Methodist *man* is willing to receive it and answer for it. If you undertake that part of the business, I will gladly remit the money to you as soon as possible. I expect to be in Newburn by the middle of February, and in Norfolk the last of March.

I expect to have $400 or $500 in my hands for the Book Concern in a few days. J. L.

The course taken by Mr. Cooper met with general approval, and, as we see from the foregoing letter of Bishop Asbury, plainly indicated an extraordinary embarrassment of the Book Concern. He received also a letter from Richard Bassett, Esq., Governor of Delaware, dated February 26, 1799, in which are these words:

I think you are perfectly right in not entangling yourself with the Book business until you can see your way clear, but should suppose you will be entirely able so to do after the Conference.

Mr. Cooper, though declining the superintendency of the Book Concern, consented to remain in the city through the winter, and to serve the Church in the line of the ministry; and it is to be inferred that he acceded to the request of Mr. Lee in regard to the publication of the Minutes of the Conferences of 1798. They were printed in Philadelphia "by William W. Woodward, No. 17 Chestnut, near Front Street." There was no statement, as before and afterward, of their having been published for and sold by the General Superintend-

ent of the Book Concern. It is also to be inferred that, as he was always obedient to the instructions of his Bishop, he attended to the sending of books ordered, and received the cash for them.

The Philadelphia Annual Conference met in Philadelphia June 6, 1799, and during its session elected Ezekiel Cooper, by ballot, as "Editor and General Book Steward." About a month thereafter he issued and printed in the Annual Minutes for that year an address "To the Preachers and Friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church:"

DEAR BRETHREN: Whereas Bishop Asbury and the Philadelphia Conference have made choice of me as *Agent* for the Connection, to superintend our Book Concern as Editor and General Book Steward, and as I have been prevailed upon, though with reluctance, to accept the appointment, I consider it my duty to address you upon the subject.

It is well understood that the book business among us is designed for the excellent purpose of spreading and cultivating moral and religious knowledge; hence, we confine ourselves to the publication of books and pamphlets upon subjects of morality and divinity; more especially such as treat on experimental and practical religion. It is also known that the pecuniary profits arising from the business are appropriated to the exclusive benefit of the Connection, as an auxiliary to us in the important work of spreading the Gospel of our salvation the more extensively through the world. From these considerations it must appear to be the duty of all our friends to promote the Book Concern by all convenient means and religious endeavors. What can an Agent do in this business without the mutual endeavors of preachers and members in selling, buying, and circulating the books? Also it is indispensably necessary that punctuality be observed in making remittances; that the Agent may be able to make his payments to the paper-makers, printers, book-binders, etc. Every one who has money in hand, due to the Connection, should forward it without delay. And I hope that orders for books will be sent on; which I will endeavor to answer as soon, and so far, as the returns I receive will enable me to do.

In consequence of numerous drafts formerly made upon the Concern for different purposes, and the great neglect in making remittances, the business is considerably in debt and somewhat embarrassed. When I engaged in the business I had not one dollar of cash in hand belonging to the Concern, and have received but few remittances since. There are large sums due, and I most earnestly solicit the brethren to diligence and punctuality. The business may answer a noble purpose to the Connection, provided the brethren are spirited and industrious in promoting it.

Some of our brethren have acted laudably and praiseworthily in this business. I wish the same could be said of them all.

It is my deliberate opinion that no other drafts whatever should be made on the Concern until its debts are paid and the capital be sufficient to carry on the business without further embarrassments. O, brethren, help in this important work! I also advise, in all cases of transfer of books, debts, etc., from one to another, that the brethren be regular and particular in the same; and that they give correct advice thereof to the Agent here, with a receipt or certificate from the person to whom a transfer may be made. If a transfer be made at any time to an improper person, it ought to be considered that the Agent here may refuse releasing the one and taking the other. In cases where it can be done, the brethren, in all exchanges of books or transfers, should settle them among themselves, and not trouble the Agent with them. There have been inconveniences arising from want of attention in this matter. If a preacher leave a circuit with books in it [unsold], he should have them collected at one place and make out an exact inventory of them; and the preacher who succeeds him should, in duty, take charge of the books as per inventory, and advise the Agent accordingly.

I have opened my accounts, and expect to make out bills, etc., in dollars and cents. This will be easier to the brethren throughout the United States; for dollars and cents are everywhere the same, but pounds, shillings, and pence vary in the different States.

In brotherly love, dear brethren, I am yours, affectionately,

EZEKIEL COOPER.

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 10, 1799.

For six months the Book Concern was without a General Agent, and the property was left in the hands of Asbury Dickins, son of the late Superintendent, and John Haskins, a layman in the Church in Philadelphia, who, as executors of the late Rev. John Dickins, continued the sale of the books; but it was of the nature of a clearing-out sale. A few days after his election Mr. Cooper "took a Book Room," and entered upon the business of the Concern. Such were the embarrassments around him that he was led to say, in his Journal:

Ah! the trouble I have of it in closing up and settling the old Concern and commencing the new! Were the fatigue and labor to continue as it now is, I would not carry it on for any consideration.

A further embarrassment awaited him. In about a month he found that the former tenant of the house he had rented had not paid his rent, and that the Connection's property was in

danger of being seized for back rent. "The law is such," says he, "that any person's property found in the house is liable for rent. Hence I at 1 o'clock called a cart, and got a few friends to assist me, and we moved all the books and papers to another place, to secure them from being taken to pay another person's rent." The new office and Book Room was No. 47 North Fourth Street. These premises were held for about a year, when the Book Concern was moved to No. 118 North Fourth Street, and there the business was conducted until it was moved to New York.

By the action of the General Conference of 1800 the editor and book steward was left without any pastoral charge. His attention being wholly given to the interests of the book business, it began at once to develop greater vital energy, and light began to dawn on the still beclouded pathway. The following invaluable letter of Bishop Asbury will give the searcher after historic truth much aid:

MY DEAR COOPER: Grace and peace be with thy spirit. I have premeditated a letter to you for some months. We have had a gracious season in Conference for five days. Brother Blanton is located. Stith Mead is to preside in the State of Georgia, James Jenkins in South Carolina. Brother Blanton showed me an answer of $1,000 by John Harper. William McKendree, you perhaps know by this, commands in the West. John Kobler was appointed to the Richmond District, but I fear he hath failed. I heard that P. Bruce was at his father's in North Carolina; I desired him upon his return to see if J. Kobler was upon his station; if not, to take it himself; if Kobler was in place I desired Brother Bruce to go to Norfolk.

We will do what little we can to collect for you, but we might as well climb up to the moon as attempt to get some of those debts. I thank you for the advice given of the middle ground; we have some time to consider upon it between this and the Yearly Conference, when it will probably be brought before the Yearly Conference—at least we may suppose the Presiding Elder and Elder will implead each other in the presence of Conference.

I had no doubt but you would feel like wishing to be out of the business of Book making. But, my dear, it is not so easily done. You will have many a shot. I say in all company, when I speak, that you are deeply concerned for the interests of the Connection, and go very near the wind in all your movements for good.

You are easy of access I have found, readily pacified by a word or a line; you are not a man of intrigue, but open and therefore I love you. The very thought that I gave a nomination to your appointment is enough: those that dislike me will disapprove you.

I advise you, as a friend, to retire into your own business as much as possible. I only wish that those that think hardly of you or me could, if it was right, be only punished with our places they so much envy; but many would: God forbid! and we will also oppose it.

I think our Scripture Catechism is one of the best in the world; but it could be amended by you, and laid before the next Conference in the amendment. I gave the outlines to John Dickins. I think now, if you propose, in your own language, questions such as these, and answer them wholly in Scripture, thus: What is the duty of parents? What is the duty of husbands—wives; children; ministers; rulers; subjects; masters; servants? What is the duty of Christians, one to another? and so on, it would in my view be most excellent. We could enforce catechizing if we had a complete guide. Thine, F. ASBURY.

CAMDEN [S. C.], *Jan.* 7, 1801.

The same letter contains a note from Bishop Whatcoat which indicates the closeness with which Mr. Cooper pressed his business. It is as follows:

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: We spoke to the Conference about the $10 you reminded us of, but cannot get it; you must set it down to the Sinking Fund. The Books were spoiled and scattered. We are concerned for the peace of your Church, but much prayer, patience, and forbearance, with great moderation, appears to be needful at this time. What need we have to stand, like an iron pillar, strong! May the good Lord bless you, and all the Lord's people! Thine in love, R. WHATCOAT.

In both of these letters reference is made to an unpleasant condition of affairs in the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, and as it led to disagreeable relations between the editor and superintendent of the Book Concern, and was one of the causes, probably the chief cause, of its removal to another city, a statement thereof is here given. The facts are drawn from the manuscript journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper.

During the summer of 1800 a disagreeable variance occurred in the society at St. George's, in which the so called "wealthy and respectable" members took issue with "the poor and ignorant." The majority was of the latter; but the minister stationed among them opposed them, and favored the rich minority. Seeing that in some particulars both parties were blameworthy, Mr. Cooper maintained for some time a neutral position, hoping thereby to contribute to a spirit of compro-

mise; but as the dispute was of long continuance, and involved measures of the greatest practical importance, he was censured in turn by each, for he could not agree wholly with either side. In his own language, he says:

> But ah! at length many of the warm, fiery, and intemperate minds, who had more zeal and prejudice than wisdom and prudence—more of self-will and passion than brotherly kindness and Christian moderation—more of self-importance than self-knowledge—became extremely offended with me, for no other cause that I know of than because I ventured to oppose them wherein I believed them to be wrong. They were astonished at me. The "wealthy and respectable" were surprised at me, to take part with what they called "the poor and ignorant part of the society" against them; and the others lamented and were surprised that I did not give them a more decided support in opposition to what they considered "the overbearing measures of the great men."

The dissension increased, and the stationed preacher, Mr. McCombs, added to the confusion by displacing several class-leaders who differed from him in opinion, which action his presiding elder, Mr. Everett, declared to be a stretch of power. Thereupon a difference arose between them, and the pastor having refused to yield to the presiding elder, the latter resolved to move him to another place in his district, and placed Richard Sneath in charge of the church in the city. Mr. McCombs declined to go to the circuit to which he was appointed. On Mr. Sneath's coming to the charge agreeable to appointment, matters grew worse: some of the local preachers of "the respectable" party refused to take appointments from or to preach under the administration of Mr. Sneath, and, with a number of other members, declined to attend services in the church; some went not at all, others very seldom. Mr. Cooper then made a proposition: that a committee, composed of an equal number from both sides, should be appointed to devise a plan for the restoration of peace and unity; that the conditions and terms agreed upon should in nowise be contrary to the Discipline of the Church; and that when agreed upon they should be laid before the presiding elder for his approval. The proposition was not agreed to, being particularly opposed by Mr. McCombs and his party. Thereafter Mr. Cooper was regarded as identified with the "poor and ignorant" party; the opposition calling him the leader, the counselor,

and the main-spring of their enemies. Having now for the most part withdrawn from the regular church services, meetings were held by them in private houses, in the jail, etc., and a work of revival having broken out among the church attendants, they opposed it with much severity, characterizing it as a delusion. In this spirit they grew more and more violent, and finding that they could not prevail, "having," as Mr. Cooper tells us, "the presiding elder, Mr. Sneath, myself, the Quarterly Conference, and the majority of the society against them, they resolved to carry their measures to the next Annual Conference, by way of protest against the presiding elder and the Quarterly Conference. They accordingly wrote off to the Bishops who were in the South—the others wrote also—and the business laid in an unsettled way till Conference."

The Philadelphia Annual Conference held in the spring of 1801 revoked nothing that had been done, and the presiding elder, Mr. Everett, and Mr. McCombs having become reconciled with each other, the Bishops were requested to write a letter to the members advising them on all sides to drop every point in dispute, and to return to peace and quietude. The decision of the Conference, and the letter of the Bishops, gave additional offense to the dissatisfied party, and they all withdrew—about sixty in number—from the Methodist Church, and set up their worship in the old City Academy, having separate preachers and members. This body afterward constituted the Union Church in Philadelphia. At the time of their withdrawal the St. George's Church was involved in a debt of more than $3,000, contracted mainly by them, for they had the management of the temporal affairs of the church, and it was intimated by them that the members adhering to the church would never be able to pay the debt; that the church would be sold by its creditors; that they would buy it. In less than a year, however, all the debts against the church were paid, an insurance against fire was secured to the amount of six thousand dollars, the Ebenezer Church was finished, a most remarkable revival of religion had taken place among them, and about four hundred members were added to the church from which the sixty had withdrawn.

The Annual Conference of 1802 agreed to give the separatists a preacher upon such honorable terms as they and the

Bishops should agree upon, and within a few years peace and harmony were restored.

These historic facts are thus given in detail not only to explain statements made in the letters of the Bishops above given, but also to throw light upon points in the valuable letters now to follow.

Bishop Asbury wrote to Mr. Cooper on the 27th of March, 1801, from Portsmouth, Virginia, a letter in which he shows again his interest in the affairs of the Book Concern, and states that though he and his colleague, Bishop Whatcoat, had received but little money for the books sold by members of the Conferences attended, it was deemed best to forward it to him at once. In December, also, the following letter was written:

CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA, *December* 31, 1801.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I have received your letters, for which I thank you, and for other attentions. When we were told the debt * was paid, I wondered by what mint or magic you had collected $4,000 in four months; but when we had chapter and verse the wonder ceased. O zeal! zeal! what will it not do when made elastic by opposition! I hope the next thing will be to purchase, as perhaps you may at a low price, or build, a house for the preachers, after more than thirty years.

I find that the book market is good in the South, and the Presiding Elders and preachers are very diligent. I believe *we* need say but little. As to Bowen and Weeks, I doubt if any settlement to purpose will ever be made. I do not wish to meddle much in the Book Concern; we have so many cooks, and some very unskilful. I pushed three books into the press, and I shall expect reflections as long as they are in circulation—if I am in circulation. As a friend I would advise you (as I am one that hath eyes and ears every-where) to keep close to Fletcher's and Wesley's most excellent parts. As to my Journals, I feel my delicacies about having them printed at all in my life-time; it may only put it in the power of my enemies to abuse me as Mr. O'Kelly has in the second part of the same tune; and my hands will be bound by inability, or some local influences. I am sorry to be a burden to my friends, or the Connection; I do not wish to crowd myself, or the Connection, with more services than they call for. I was willing, at the request of some of my special friends, to submit an impression of the Journal to the press; 'tis true the General Conference approved it, and it was my wish that it should go out in numbers, but it appeared to me that the general mind of the General Conference was that it should come out in a volume. I have been taught to understand that a printer

* Debt of the St. George's Society in Philadelphia.

should point, and if he could not point he could not print. I do not choose to print any man's Journal but my own; my language in preaching and writing is my own, good or bad. If you choose to send out the number upon good paper, I shall submit; but I have been making up my mind closely to inspect and strike out what, upon close thinking, I shall disapprove, and lay them by to be printed after my death, or to let them die with me. About twenty pages in four months' traveling will not be a great burden to the press. My first part was transcribed by one that did not understand my writing.

As to the Hymn Book, I can only say we have such a republic of critics and printers they will do as they please; but I presume if you had a thousand more to send into every district than you have sent they would soon be sold. Only let the work be done well, and there is no doubt of the sale of our books; the Presbyterians, and others, will purchase our books.

To the Trustees (of the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, P.):

Respected Brethren: I thank you for the attention you have manifested to me in your address, and accounts of payments. I rejoice exceedingly that we are just, and may be generous, and do nothing through strife and vainglory. I hope your zeal and charity will provide a house for your preacher, and prevent a moth-eating rent. Let us pray much and love the more; then we shall live holy and die happy. Farewell.

Yours for Christ's sake, FRANCIS ASBURY.

Since I began this letter Brother Whatcoat arrived with your letter—an apology for paper. Your pardon is granted. See, *thou art made whole.* 'Tis generally granted our books are the best, intrinsically and extrinsically; only let us keep them so.

In 1802 the Philadelphia Annual Conference appointed a Book Committee composed of Thomas Ware, presiding elder of Philadelphia District; John McClaskey, George Roberts, stationed preachers in the city; and Ezekiel Cooper. The Minutes of the Conferences for that year also contained an address to the preachers and members of the Church, prepared, doubtless, by Mr. Cooper, wherein it is stated that the Book Concern "is in a prosperous way at present;" that the agent in that business "has paid better than $2,000 of the old debts since last General Conference;" that "our Hymn Book has been revised and improved, and the copyright secured, agreeably to the concurrent resolve of the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Conferences;" and "it has been in contemplation to publish a Methodist Repository, consisting of experiences, accounts of revivals of religion, remarkable deaths, etc."

In 1803 the Philadelphia Annual Conference voted, almost unanimously, that the Book Concern should be removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The Agent was not disposed to favor the change, and by reason thereof the following letter was written to him by Bishop Asbury:

MY DEAR BROTHER: As the executive of the Conference, and your friend, I think it my duty to tell you that I think it your duty, in obedience to the Conference, to move to Baltimore about the first of October. You know there have been many changes among your brethren; I hope that you also will bear a part; it is my wish, if I cannot keep the people out of contention, to save the preachers. As to any reports that are false and groundless, you can as easily combat them at Baltimore, as in Philadelphia, by word or letter. I think any preacher that has been stationed in Philadelphia for six or seven years, should be removed if he was not local, and altogether out of my power. I wish every person to be moved that can be moved, and every thing that can be done, for peace and union, to be done. You are not ignorant that other preachers have been called, suspended, and some removed at a word, to serve the wishes of some dissatisfied minds; you will take your turn with others, and as there was such a unanimity in the vote of the Conference it ought to have weight with you. As an individual, it is nothing to me, your going or staying. I have no spleen against you; I only want peace in the societies by any good means. I wonder why you should wish to stay where you must have had great distress of mind; and I have thought it must cause your ill health.

I am most sincerely your friend, F. ASBURY.

SOUDERSBURG, *July* 24, 1803.

Bishop Asbury had spent three days in Philadelphia before going to Soudersburg; had preached once at the Academy, and was well acquainted with the condition of affairs in the Methodist societies; for their divisions were not yet healed. Hence the above pointed letter written nearly three months after the adjournment of the Philadelphia Conference. Mr. Cooper, however, did not remove the Book Concern to Baltimore,* but

* Mr. Cooper's reasons for not moving the Book Concern to Baltimore are set forth in the following, as stated by himself:

"Why not remove to Baltimore, etc.

"1. Because, not for the interest of the Book Concern to move. (Paper, printing, binding, expense and risk of moving.)

"2. The General Conference has fixed it in Philadelphia, and given no power to Philadelphia Conference to remove it. (G. R., though for removal, agreed against the Philadelphia Conference taking power on them as in case of C. F. Trustees, etc., etc.)

continued its management in Philadelphia until the latter part of the year 1804, when it was removed to New York. This was done, we think, by order of the General Conference of 1804, which also elected Rev. John Wilson Assistant Editor and Book Steward. At that Conference, also, the pastoral term of office in any particular charge was limited to two years, and the Book Agent and his Assistant were stationed each over a church under said rule. In the Minutes of the Annual Conferences from 1805 to 1808, these officers of the Book Concern are not set forth as book stewards, but as pastors; thus, in 1805 and 1806 Ezekiel Cooper was stationed in Brooklyn, and John Wilson in New York, and in 1807 and 1808 John Wilson was stationed in Brooklyn, and Ezekiel Cooper in New York. The General Conference of 1808 removed the additional burden of the regular pastorate from the shoulders of the editors

"3. The Baltimore Conference has not been consulted, etc. (Why send it out of one district to another without Discipline for it?)

"4. I purposed giving up the business, and concluded to leave it where I found it.

"5. My workmen were engaged and under way. They would have removed if I could have engaged to have kept the business, and given or engaged them the work—neither of which I could engage. I did not know who would succeed me, and I could make no engagement for them.

"6. It would have been difficult to engage workmen at Baltimore to have entered our business, and put off their former customers unless they could have had assurances of a continuation of the work, which I could not give them under the purpose of giving up the business, and I could not give assurances for what my successor would do. Hence it would have been difficult to have got the work done fast enough.

"7. The removal at all events would cause a great stoppage and delay in the work. And as I apprehended another stoppage at and about Conference, which would have made two stoppages, etc., instead of one, so I concluded it would be better to let the work go on, and have but one stoppage, and that at and about Conference.

"8. After the vote of Conference for removal, certain persons began to boast how they had prevailed in having the business removed, etc. *They!* was it they that did it: and were all these difficulties, risks, expenses, and stoppages merely to please and oblige them? I concluded this must not be. I spoke to G. R. about their triumph, and told him I would not go if this was the case, and if they continued their triumphant boast. What did Cavender say to Sharp? *They*, to get *me* out of town, had got the business fixed, etc. *They*, indeed! this, as evidence of boasting, etc.

"9. Some one intimated the vote was in consequence of my statement to Conference (informant, Sargent). This appeared calculated to fix it on me, if any blame; and to take it on themselves, if it suited their purpose."

and superintendents of the Book Concern; and thereafter their names do not appear as connected with any separate charge while incumbents of that office.

In addition to the labors of the Book Concern and the pastorate, an additional care was undertaken by the General Agent and his Assistant: that of a yearly visit to the Conferences, in the interests of the book business. It was assumed by the recommendation of Bishop Asbury, and has from the beginning been continued, and has been a great source of benefit to the Church in her publishing interests. The following letter, in which it is suggested, is here presented:

NEW ROCHELLE, *July* 26, 1805.

My VERY DEAR BROTHER: I have rode rapidly two hundred and thirty miles in six days to redeem a day to write. I think that you might, with the assistance of Brother Wilson, attend five Conferences out of the seven every year. You could take Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The critical state of the bills and banks [demands this]; the preachers will be brought to a settlement better at Conference than [at] any other time. Brother Crawford is appointed to ride with me: if he can render you any service at the Western or Southern Conference, you will give orders. I should be exceedingly glad to see Mr. Wesley's Sermons published, up to the ninth and last volume, this year. Then I should be pleased to see one complete set of his journals taken in America; and a set of his Appeals. It's time, after thirty-six years, these were done.

I have had a thought of buying a light Jersey wagon, that I may go at the rate of the mail stage, and visit all the towns and cities in the winter, and go to the westward in the fall; but the greatness of the expense is one difficulty; the badness of the roads another. . . . I have no more to do with the Book Concern than another preacher, nor so much. If I were to keep a little stage the person in company, Brother Crawford or some other, would carry a selection of the books of the Connection.

I am, as ever, thy friend, F. ASBURY.

Rev. EZEKIEL COOPER, Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn.

In closing this historical sketch it affords great pleasure to the writer to add this simple sentence: the thirst for Christian knowledge in the Methodist Episcopal Church in America has, notwithstanding its early embarrassments, created the most extensive, thorough, comprehensive, and accurate Christian book establishment in the world.

Art. VII. — PRESENT NECESSITY FOR A RESTATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN BELIEFS.*

The religious system called Christianity, after the name of its author—who is also its prophet and high-priest—is sometimes more definitely, though less comprehensively, styled the faith. Sometimes the two designations are used together as mutually explanatory, as when the Augsburg Confession speaks of "our holy faith and Christian religion." In thus designating the Christian system by a term whose first sense is simply belief or credence, there is the implication that it is built upon and also embodies certain objective truths—facts and principles—which are of its substance, and through which its character is expressed. These truths are, indeed, in themselves always the same, because they are the manifestations of the unchangeable purposes of the divine wisdom and goodness; but because men's conceptions of them are mutable, the formularies in which they may be expressed in certain conditions will in other conditions appear quite inadequate, perhaps misleading. And, as a matter of fact, it may be asserted that the terms in which religious beliefs are expressed can never be fixed beyond the need of occasional changes and restatements.

The present age is confessedly a time of change in the forms of Christian thought, and of modifications of doctrinal conceptions. The formularies of doctrine which have come down to us from the past, although they were so precious to those by whom they were once cherished, no longer satisfactorily express the theological conceptions of the best minds of Christendom. We venture the opinion, also, that the changed method of viewing Christian doctrines is better than that which it replaces, being broader, more rational, less artificial, and truer to the teachings of the word of God. And although it has become fashionable in certain circles to speak lightly of theology, and to prefer the sentimental and practical in religion to the speculative and intellectual, it is still very certain that Christianity, as manifested in its human subjects, must be, first of all, a system of truths to be accepted respecting God's purposes toward men and his methods for working out his designs in

* A paper read before the Cleveland Church Congress, by Daniel Curry, D.D.

and among them. These purposes and his methods for their practical development he has revealed in his word; and now he commends them to our acceptance, both as truths to be intellectually believed and as spiritual manifestations of transforming power to be accepted and experienced.

The changes that are so strongly marked in the religious thought of the age, however, affect only remotely and but slightly the substance of Christian truth, and are confined almost entirely to forms of expression called for by fuller and clearer appreciations of its nature and relations. God's revelations of himself and of his dispensations, though always substantially the same, have been all along becoming fuller and clearer. The opening sentence of the Epistle to the Hebrews indicates the divine method in this work: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and divers manners, hath in the end of these days spoken to us in his Son." Of the revelation there indicated, no doubt, the Scriptures of the two Testaments include the substance; they also contain all that a Christian needs to know or believe for his soul's profit. There is, however, reason to believe that there has been, and will continue to be, a steady advance in the mind and thoughts of the Church toward clearer, broader, and more adequate conceptions of what is declared in the Bible. Here, certainly, the theory of evolution has a manifest basis of fact,—and these things make it necessary that the accepted symbols of Christian belief should be, from time to time, reexamined, and the whole substance of doctrine restated. This duty rests upon the living Church at every stage, as the custodian and interpreter of the divine word.

A very high and sacred office is, by the Head of the Church, assigned to his truth, the belief of which is said to be the condition and effectual agency of sanctification, and of the attainment of eternal life. We are therefore warranted in assuming that a basis of theological opinions, made up of the great fundamental truths and doctrines of the Bible, unmixed with fatal misbeliefs, set forth in plain and comprehensive truths, is necessary to the best interests of the Church, and, to a not inconsiderable extent, to the religious life of the individual. And since religion, as embodied in Church life, is largely communistic, having very large interests common to the whole body, a recog-

nized *consensus* of beliefs is a condition requisite to the unity and the welfare of the whole body.

The Church has never been without its accepted confession of faith. This was, in the beginning, embodied in the living words of the apostles, who taught what they had received from the lips of the Divine Teacher himself. Soon after the times of the apostles, men began to formulate the lessons taught them by their inspired instructors, very briefly in most cases, and in only fragmentary summaries. Of this kind, the recently rediscovered "Didache" is a specimen, and the so-called "Apostles' Creed" is a later and fuller and more nearly complete summary of doctrines. A little later, under the united influences of freer thinking and the ever-increasing remoteness of the authority of the apostles, came the age of heresies, which in turn necessitated more definite and comprehensive statements of Christian doctrines, so bringing in an era of creed-making, with the development in definite symbols of the principal doctrines of the Church. The thousand years of the enslavement of Christian thought—from the fifth to the fifteenth century—though but little agitated by heretical manifestations, nevertheless had its time of earnest inquiry, at each of which it usually happened that some great point of Christian doctrine would be placed in a focal light and subjected to earnest scrutiny; and in most cases these were productive of profitable results. Church history presents the names of certain great leaders of the thinking of Christendom, which stand out like mountain peaks in a landscape, each of whom impressed his own mental and spiritual image upon the living forms of Christian thought. At our distance their views may appear fragmentary and unsymmetrical, and their arguments in some cases unsatisfactory; but they were—each in his place—the men for their times, and by their labors they contributed liberally to the stores of corrected doctrinal ideas—though often one-sided and over-philosophical.

Protestantism set out with a creed of positive doctrines, including the best parts of the traditional orthodoxy, but with a large share of the "convenient indefiniteness" recommended by Melanchthon, and not well guarded against possible and dangerous implications. It included the Athanasian doctrine of the person of Christ, which carried with it that of the

Trinity, but left the subject open to the implication of tritheism, and of conditioning the Godhead. It accepted the Augustinian conception of sin, without guarding it against the fatalistic suggestions of that system. The declaration recently made by a venerable ex-professor of theology, that "Augustine paganized Christianity," may be taken as an exaggerated statement of a pregnant truth. It also embodied in its creed Anselm's soteriology, but failed to guard it against its liability to make the Atonement appear as simply a commercial transaction, so necessitating either limited atonement or else universal salvation. And even its own central and distinctive doctrine of justification by faith was not sufficiently guarded against its liability to become constructively Antinomian. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the years succeeding the Reformation constituted an era of earnest polemical discussions, with varying schools of doctrine, extending all the way from Lutheran consubstantiation and Anglican high-churchism downward to Zwinglian laxity and Anabaptist fanaticism. The creed and confessions of which the times became so fruitful were nevertheless the purposed remedies provided by the wisest and best men of the age for the maladies from which Protestantism was suffering.

The student of Church history is well aware that large and influential portions of the Churches of the Reformation were but partially emancipated from the traditions of Romanism, especially in respect to the character and design of the sacraments, the nature of the Church, and its power of "binding and loosing," and as to the right of personal free thought in all religious matters. It is also known that at the present time not a few who bear the name of Protestants are still held in that form of bondage. But with all such we are not now directly concerned; the "Christian beliefs" of whose "restatement" we are speaking, do not include that form of persuasion. They who adhere to such views, with logical propriety, hesitate to call themselves Protestants, or else they claim that from an early date most of the Reformed Churches very far transcended the boundaries of legitimate Protestantism. The typical Protestant of our times, however, discards all magical and mystical efficacy of the sacraments; denies all priestly functions to the Christian ministry; and looks upon the visible

Church of Christ as only a "congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered." Their doctrinal differences with their Romanizing opponents are defined, with all needed fullness, in the works of the early Reformers, and there is no need that they should be restated at the present time. The questions with which we are concerned lie in quite another direction.

The high place given to the written word by the leaders of the Reformation did not incline them to make either a god or a pope of the Bible; but instead, they claimed for every man the right to read and interpret it with proper intellectual and spiritual freedom. Luther himself boldly reconstructed the canon, and excluded some of the books because of what they contained; and the more reverent and conservative English Reformers spoke of the Bible, not as itself the divine word, but rather as containing "God's true word;" and they were much more careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by any thing of merely human authority than to claim for it any mystical inspiration. And all their intelligent followers in our day readily submit the written word to the findings of a reverent criticism and the decisions of rational common sense. The teachings of science and the results of critical inquiry, and, most of all, the leadings of men's religious intuitions, are, each in its way, and all unitedly, bringing the conceptions of evangelical Christendom respecting the Bible back to those of the early Reformers. There is no need for us, therefore, to rewrite the revived convictions of the Church on the subject, but only to return to the teachings of the fathers of the Reformation, and, with our better facilities, following their methods, to seek to know what is indeed written in the book.

The "Christian beliefs," the needed "restatements" of which we are now called to consider, are those not of all Christendom, but rather of a school of thought which has become very widely intrenched in the Christian consciousness of the times. The Eastern Church has preserved, without any considerable modifications, the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene fathers. The Western Church, on the contrary, continued to take on new forms of thought, until its course was arrested by the growing authority of the hierarchy, when the discipline of Jerome, the ecclesiasticism of Cyprian, and the anthropology of Augustine

became fixed and guarded as the only allowable forms of belief. The Reformation was essentially a revolt against the spiritual tyranny of the Western Church, and the assertion of the rights of free thought in all matters of religion; but it began its course with the tacit acceptance of most of the principal doctrines of Roman Catholicism.

With a set of doctrines at once so incomplete in their conceptions and so unguarded in their statement, there was large room for varying interpretations, and with the conceded right of free thinking and of private judgment as to the sense of the written word—its recognized and only sufficient rule of faith and practice—Protestantism assumed from the beginning a position of "unstable equilibrium," by reason of which future modifications of its doctrinal statements were assured, and stability as to the details of beliefs made impossible, except by occasional re-examinations and the elimination of every thing not essential to the Christian system, with the rejection of all philosophical theories of doctrine. This last cautionary provision, however, was largely neglected.

By virtue of their newly acquired freedom of thought the more advanced of the Reformers, not content with finding out whatever the Bible explicitly declares, proceeded further to deduce still other points of doctrine as logical implications and inferences. Because the Bible teaches the federal relations of Adam to his posterity, through which every man partakes of the evil consequences of the transgression of his progenitor, it was inferred that all men are for that offense condemned to eternal death; and because salvation is wholly through grace in Christ, it was inferred that men are powerless alike to help or hinder its completed results. The doctrine of justification by faith is inseparably connected with that of the reality and the intense turpitude of sin in man—entailing guilt and helplessness; and over against this the Scriptures set the work of Christ in saving men; and from this would come quite naturally the inference, that as all died in Adam, so are all made alive in Christ. But since it is certain that some are not so saved, it was further inferred that only a part of the human race are redeemed by Christ. Luther refused to follow out his own doctrinal postulates to their possible, but not necessary, logical implications, and so he left his theological system the-

oretically incomplete; and some of those who were nearest to him earnestly repudiated the inferences made by others. But Calvin, with less of sentiment than of hard logic, detected the possible implications, and accepted the fearful conclusion, and, rising to a lofty and sublime conception of the Divine Sovereignty, he contemplated the processes of the events of time as simply a predestinated order, in which all that occurs is but the unfolding of God's eternal decrees. This system has the advantage of unity and completeness, and, after granting its premises, its logical self-consistency is unassailable. But even its chief promulgator pronounced it "horrible," and the Christian consciousness of the whole Church rejects it.

It is the fashion of the times to denounce Calvinism, and especially so in places where it was formerly held in the highest honor. It has almost entirely disappeared from the pulpit and from popular religious literature. It is still to be found in theological treatises, but usually marred and emasculated, and perhaps it may be discussed and presented with variations in some of our schools of theology. But it is evidently a vanishing quantity in the Christian beliefs of our times; for any doctrine, whether false or true, that ceases to be heard from the pulpit will certainly fade out of the minds of the people in the course of one or two generations. But before that process shall be completed it may be well to pause and consider what has been the history, and what is the record, of the Calvinistic type of Protestantism.

It was the Reformed Churches of the Continent, as contradistinguished from the Lutheran, that carried forward the Reformation to a stage of completeness that made both its suppression and its reconciliation with Rome impossible, even when Luther and some of his associates appeared to be more than half inclined to accept terms of accommodation. It was the progressive element among the English Reformers which compelled the entire separation from Rome, and wrought into the substance of the Church of England those living evangelical doctrines which still stand as a breakwater against the incoming of the flood-tide of Romanism, and which also act as a life-giving, spiritual energy. It was the source of power which in Scotland nourished successive generations of martyrs and heroes whose spirits, passing beyond the Border, achieved the

liberties of England, and delivered the land from civil and ecclesiastical despotism. Its history in this country has been equally honorable. The Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Reformed (German and Dutch), and the Baptist Churches have together constituted a large and very wholesome contingent of the evangelical forces of the American Church. These facts would seem to indicate that in the doctrinal system held in common by all these bodies are found the vital principles of spiritual and aggressive Christianity. And now that the specific and distinctive features of Calvinism are manifestly fading away from the thoughts of the evangelical Churches, it may not be an uncalled-for service to raise the note of warning, lest in casting off the non-scriptural elements of the system some of its precious Christian truths may also be discarded, and so the wheat suffer in the removal of the tares. The changes have, no doubt, come about by a regular and not violent course of natural selection; and, as usual in such transformations, the changes are, no doubt, for the better.

The implication of our theme, namely, that there is a necessity for a "restatement of the Christian beliefs"—applies especially to the doctrines of sin and salvation, as taught in the formularies of the Calvinistic Churches. No such necessity is felt by the Roman Catholics, nor by the Anglicans (on either side of the ocean), nor by the Lutherans, nor by the Methodists—though all of these bodies are somewhat affected by the movements about them. But that there have been among the former class very wide changes in doctrinal expression, and equally marked replacements in doctrinal conceptions, is every-where manifest; nor is that fact at all an occasion of reproach to those among whom these things have occurred. But this unloosing of the bonds of prescriptive authority leaves the theological belongings of a large body of advanced Christian thinkers in an unformulated, not to say chaotic, condition; and as theological convictions naturally tend to assume a systematical order, these now unsettled opinions will certainly very soon become organized. Nor can there be any doubt in respect to the point toward which opinions are tending. Perhaps it may be said that the nucleus about which the "Christian beliefs" of the near future will crystallize is already ascertained and pretty closely defined. It may be further presumed, that

when so organized the new creed will not be the same in all things with any of the older and historical systems of faith.

It will accept the Apostles' Creed, with historic emendations and independent interpretations. It will rehearse the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, but as assenting to their substance rather than to their form of words. It will be Augustinian just as far as Augustine is Pauline, with even Paul's statements elucidated and guarded by the wholesome lessons of Peter, and James, and John.

The body of divinity that shall respond to the requirements of our age will be neither Calvinistic nor Pelagian; but it will embody the distinctive elements of both those systems. It will assert and emphasize the spiritual doctrines of grace; and it will also insist upon man's free agency effectually conditioning personal salvation. If these two seem to be logically incompatible, so much the worse for the logic. It will also earnestly hold to and emphasize the doctrine of the Atonement, the expiation of man's guilt by the shedding of the blood of the Son of God; but it will enunciate no theory or phillosophic scheme by which to expound the mystery of redemption—the substitution of the innocent for the guilty in suffering—nor attempt accurately to define

"How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed."

It will declare the sovereignty of the grace that brings salvation, and couple with it man's free agency in accepting and using that grace, without attempting to explain how these two things can be reconciled. It will insist upon the very wholesome and comforting doctrine "that we are justified by faith alone," and "without the deeds of the law," and it will not fail to emphasize the truth that the faith which justifies also works by love and purifies the heart. It will teach that the life of the believer subsists by virtue of his mystical union with Christ—itself Christ in him—and is perpetuated by his own ever-active faith. It will glorify the Father's love manifested in the gift of his Son, and, while not forgetful of his exalted majesty, will especially delight to speak of him as the God and Father of all men. It will glorify Christ, the Son of the Father, but will especially emphasize his human sympathies and delight in his condescending self-devotion in our behalf,

constrained thereto by sovereign love. It will, more than ever before has been the case, bring the Holy Spirit into conspicuous recognition as the giver and sustainer of the life of God in the soul, the teacher and guide, the sanctifier, and the God of all consolation. These are not new, or hitherto unrecognized, doctrines, but instead they have all along been in the hearts and on the lips of God's people. The atmosphere of the Christian world is full of them. They have to a large extent replaced the dogmatizings of the schools in the Christian literature of the age, and in the teachings of the pulpit, and best of all in Christian communion. None of the creeds of Christendom adequately express these things, while in proportion to the exactness and fullness of these symbols they cumber the spirit and circumscribe the soul's vision of faith.

But ours is not an age of creed-making. It is clearly impossible at this time to produce new formularies of doctrine, like the Augsburg Confession, or that of Dort or Westminster. The respect demanded for free thought in the individual precludes the possibility that any one shall be required to shape his conceptions of religious truth according to any detailed scheme formed to his hand by some council or synod, and especially do the creeds of past centuries fail to answer to present demands. Nor is this freedom of thinking either the creature or the cause of any want of theological opinions. It has been demonstrated that creeds and confessions can neither ward off heresies nor shape the dogmatic conceptions of those who nominally accept them; and also, that theological opinions are stable in proportion as they are free.

The only practically available system of doctrines in any ecclesiastical body is and must be its unformulated *consensus;* the teachings of its pulpits and Sunday-schools and families, of which its unofficial utterances, through the press or by other means, become its effective, but not arbitrarily authoritative, statements and expositions. Probably no ecclesiastical body in the land would account a candidate for its ministry disqualified by reason of his unwillingness to accept, in their primary implications, certain portions of almost any one of the historical creeds of Protestantism; and it is quite certain that a rigid enforcement of such an acceptance would make sad havoc among the best taught and most conscientious ministers

of nearly all of the Churches. The numerically largest Protestant denomination in this country has no closely defined formulary of doctrines, nor any set of documents which are assumed to embody all its articles of faith, so that so much and no more must be accepted as true. And yet it may be asserted that no other body is less affected by the erratic thinking of its ministers and its members, and no others are better able to detect dangerous aberrations and to visit with the requisite corrections any who may err from the truth. The restatement, then, of Christian beliefs called for in our times is a declaration of independence of the enslaving formularies of former times—most of which were designed to meet certain local and temporary exigencies—and a return to the simpler forms of biblical teachings as interpreted by the concurrent Christian consciousness. Still another department of the Christian belief of our age is especially in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state—but of that we can now speak only very briefly and generally. It is that of Eschatology, sometimes called "The Doctrine of the Last Things." The historical creeds are all of them materialistic, often grossly so, in their forms of language and manifest conceptions respecting the future life. The popular notions respecting the resurrection of the dead and the character of "the life everlasting," which those creeds manifestly teach, have ceased to command the assent of the great body of intelligent believers. The Second Advent, and the Millennium, and the Reign of Christ on the earth in human form, are among the materialistic conditions permeating the traditional religious thought of Protestant Christendom; but very few sober and well taught Christian scholars can accept these things unless so modified as to change their identity. And yet these things are closely implicated with the primary principles of the current religious anthropology, and with the popular conception of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, present and prospective, and consequently with the hopes of the Gospel in respect to both the individual and the Church. It is conceded by our ablest Christian scholars that our Eschatology needs to be restated, because it now fails to voice the Christian consciousness of the age. But who shall undertake the work, and what shall be the form and contents of the reconstructed faith of the Church concerning these things. Evangelical Christendom waits the outcome.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

UNIFICATION OF METHODISM.

It is among the infelicities of social life that good neighborhood among families of diverse social ranks, and still more so when the differences are religious or racial, is liable to tend toward matrimonial affinities. The parent who, though socially of a higher grade, would nevertheless teach his children to avoid all pretenses of superiority, knows very well that in so doing he incurs the danger of undesirable matrimonial alliance in his family, and therefore he finds it necessary to observe and enforce some degree of exclusiveness in the social relations of his children. If, however, for any reason the formation of such alliances is quite out of the question, then the intercourse of the parties may be correspondingly freer. Like considerations will apply to the relations of churches of diverse orders and of different denominations, with which Christian recognition is often forced forward, and made to suggest the inquiry why the two bodies should not become one. There seems to be in some minds a lack of ability to discriminate between the appreciation of the unity of the Christian life among fellow-believers of different names and the unity of ecclesiastical organization; and with not a few the external unity seems to be more fully emphasized than the internal and spiritual. Among the things to be learned in this our age of broadened Christian charity is, that true liberality is best shown by the recognition of excellences that are not now, nor likely to become, an integral part of one's own ecclesiastical organism, and that Christian unity need not to be shut in by denominational delimitations. This remark, which applies primarily to all Christian bodies, we would also apply with equal emphasis to the diverse organisms among which the Methodism of our age and country is divided.

Methodist "fraternity" has become a conspicuous fact, so far as its ostensible manifestations go, within the past few years. There have been exchanges of delegations till the affair has largely broken down under the burden of its physical conditions, and conference platforms have overflowed with honeyed words of brotherhood which it was well known expressed but half of the truth; and "ecumenicals" and "centennials" have celebrated the unity of Methodism, while each division, as was fitting, stood firmly, and often jealously, by its own standards. And all this is well enough, provided the differences that separate these various bodies are duly recognized and respected; for we hold that no body of Christians should abandon its own organization until satisfied that its distinctive features are relatively unimportant. At the same time, because the spirit of Christ should be recognized, wherever found, as of vastly greater value than any ecclesiastical system, so genuine Christian

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

unity will readily overstep, and indeed ignore, the fences that shut in our denominational preserves. The family has its own unity, which should be sacredly protected; but devotion to one's family is altogether compatible with the most earnest patriotism and the broadest philanthropy.

In the proceedings referred to there have been only slight references to the organic union of some of the bodies thus brought together; but in the "aside" utterances the subject has been not unfrequently suggested—less often of late, however, than a few years earlier. These suggestions have assumed, rather than asserted—and no attempts have been made to prove it—that the separated existence of these various bodies is a very great evil that ought to be speedily remedied; perhaps, indeed, a great *sin*, unless quickly repented of and given up, and atoned for by organic unification. It is tacitly claimed that any possible divisions into separate bodies of the Christians of any locality is somehow wrong, and ought not to be, which, as a proposition for an ideally perfect Christian community, may be correct. But such ideal communities are not very numerous; and the actual ordering of things must be adapted to the existing imperfections of men individually, and of society in its ruling characteristics. Nor are the causes of the separate existence of the various Christian bodies existing among us to be found in the perverse self-will of those who maintain them. Even in Methodism each dissentient body had what seemed to be a sufficient justification for the dissatisfaction which led at length to separation. It is also worthy of notice that the things complained of in the parent body, and which became at length the occasion of disruption, have since, in many cases, been largely mitigated or entirely removed. The Protestant Methodist Church grew out of the attempt of certain persons, both ministers and laymen, to liberalize the government, both legislative and administrative, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Their methods may have been in some cases disorderly and factious, and yet we suspect that just such proceedings, if taken at this time, would not be treated with the same severity; and greater constitutional modifications and administrative mitigations than were then asked for have since been granted. But while the original causes of complaint have been removed, the body that grew up by reason of them has come to have an entity and status of its own, of whose perpetuation those to whom it has descended are the custodians and the competent and only rightful judges. When they may conclude that the mission of their separation is sufficiently accomplished they are at liberty to seek to be united with the older and more numerous organization. But of that matter they only are to be the judges. Their right to be is not to be challenged by any others.

Nearly the same considerations will apply to those who, soon after 1840, chiefly in the Eastern States, seceded from the parent body and formed the "Wesleyan Methodist Church of America." They were wholly dissatisfied with the attitude of the Church toward slavery, as they had good cause to be; and they found also, that, under the rulings of the Bishops, the rights of the Annual Conferences as free synods were completely set aside; and despairing of their cause within the Church, they withdrew

and set up an independent body, which still maintains a feeble and moribund existence. That movement, no doubt, had a purpose, though the wisdom of its course was not approved by many who fully sympathized with those who engaged in it; and as a protest against not only the dominant *quasi* pro-slaveryism of the Church, but equally so against the unwarrantable stretching of episcopal authority over the Annual Conferences, it no doubt effected very great and valuable results. The General Conference of 1844 was held in the presence of that secession, then rapidly coming to threatening proportions, and standing as a menace over the entire Methodism of the Eastern and Middle States. The vote in the case of Bishop Andrew applied equally to the question of the Church's relations to slavery and that of the character, and consequently the power, of the episcopacy, which together constituted the grievance which had brought about the secession, and both of which suffered alike in that vote. It is said that when the vote in the case of Bishop Andrew was taken, in the Greene Street Church in New York, Orange Scott was sitting in the gallery, an intensely interested observer of the proceedings; and when the result was reached, he remarked to a friend, "That will make an end of our organization." But for the dread inspired by the secession of which Scott was the recognized leader, no such vote as that could have been reached; but this casting down of the two pillars of pro-slaveryism and prelacy in Methodism, as with those which Samson threw down in the temple of Dagon, at once saved the Church and destroyed its deliverer. Both these results might, perhaps, have been reached by other means, and at less disastrous costs, but for the good actually accomplished let the credit be awarded as it was deserved.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, by virtue of its influence, seconding the tendency of public sentiment in all of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the separation of the Southern Conferences, caused the latter body to advance very far toward the ground held by the former, and so robbed it of its distinctive occupation as a protesting body, and deprived it of its sole claim to a continued existence. It has accordingly been almost entirely re-absorbed, without the formality of an organic unification.

Respecting another separated body of Methodists, we cannot better express our present convictions than in language which we wrote and published twenty-one years ago:

> The various "African" Methodist Churches have grown out of the joint action of the white Methodists' determination to allow to their colored brethren nothing approaching to freedom in the Church, and the Negro's determination not to occupy the lower position assigned him. Perhaps, too, there was not wanting among the colored people a desire to be first in their own little spheres rather than to receive even their full share of privileges among those of another and relatively more elevated class; and so the whites got rid of a perplexity and a burden, and the Negroes gained ecclesiastical freedom and eligibility to place, with the loss of almost every other religious and intellectual advantage. The course taken in these things is doubtless a very natural one; but that fact is but a poor apology for its permission by those whose business it is to counterwork the evil tendencies of what is natural to fallen humanity.

It has long been our settled conviction that the separation of the colored Methodists of the free States from the Methodist Episcopal Church has been a serious and unmixed evil to both parties. To the colored people it has been the privation of the aid, both pecuniary and intellectual, which would have accrued to them from their union with the whites; and to the whites it has been the serious disadvantage of the loss of ready access to the "poor among us," in which the Church finds her richest opportunities to enrich herself by benefiting others. With the colored Methodists of the free States in cherished communion with her, our Church would never have lapsed into the strange and reprehensible position of a quarter of a century ago, which we now look back upon with mingled emotions of surprise and shame. In Church connection with the whites those colored Methodists would not have remained at the low level of intelligence and efficiency in which we now see them. In placing the two races in the same localities, the divine purpose that they should be united in Church fellowship is sufficiently indicated. But what God had joined together men put asunder; and the result of the sad divorce has of course been only evil to both parties.—*The Christian Advocate*, July 20, 1865.

But the work of separation was effected, and nobody can blame the free blacks for leaving associations in which they received scant welcome. And now that they are separated, it is for themselves alone to settle the conditions of their return to the "mother Church," which owes them, at least, a parent's kindness.

There are two ecclesiastical bodies in this country which, without the family name of Methodists, nor ecclesiastically derived from any Methodist ancestry, are still Methodists in fact, by virtue of both the character of their religious life and their methods of ecclesiastical organization and of Christian activity—the "Evangelical Association," whose head-quarters are Cleveland, O., and of which Albright was the originator, and after whose name the body is sometimes called, and the "United Brethren in Christ," with head-quarters at Dayton, the ecclesiastical progeny of Otterbein and Boehm. Between both of these and ourselves there has been some recognition of kinship, both official and also informal; and perhaps there has been some little coquetting on both sides, and with both of these, in respect to union. They are both doing a good work, and effecting valuable results by agencies that we have largely ceased to use, and among peoples to whom our access is not so ready as is theirs. It has therefore seemed to us that in their own place they are doing good work for the Master, and therefore that it may be for the best that they abide apart. But it is found that, living among our churches, they are continually subject to being depleted by the greater attractions of the larger and more advanced body, and both their abler ministers and many of their well-to-do families are drawn into our communion. This form of unification may do well enough for the gaining party, but it is death to the body out of which the life-blood is thus drawn. But it is not for us to suggest what course should be pursued. The records of these bodies are highly honorable, and they are doing a good work. Respecting their future we have nothing to predict. If, however, any steps shall be taken looking to a closer affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, they and not we must take the initiative.

Respecting the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and our relations to

it, and the desirableness of union with it, some of our people seem to feel an earnest and never-ceasing concern. A great deal is heard from our side about "organic union," and of the great *shame* and *sin* of separation, but very little from theirs that points in that direction. Ever since the close of the war there has been an incessant process of wooing in behalf of the Church "North," which has been about as steadily repelled by the other party. A long time ago, at a time the Southern Bishops were holding a meeting at St. Louis, two of our Bishops sought them out unasked, and proposed some kind of a negotiation with them; but when inquired of in respect to their errand and their authority, they had nothing to offer, and so were formally rather than politely "bowed out." Some years later, a commission having been appointed by the General Conference of 1868 to receive and consider any proposition that might be made to them respecting union by certain designated ecclesiastical bodies—to which list the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was added at the last moment—although it had no authority to make proposals, but only to receive and consider them when made by some other body, yet two members of that commission (one then a Bishop, and the other since made one) in 1870 hied away to the Southern General Conference at Memphis, and were politely reminded that said commissioners had power only to consider propositions made to them, and were further assured that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had nothing to submit on that subject. They were told the commission of which they were a part—

> Cannot, in our judgment, without great violence in construing the language of said resolution, be reported as having been constituted by that General Conference a commission to make proposals of union to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Moreover, that if this distinguished commission were fully clothed with authority to treat with us for union, it is the judgment of this Conference that the true interests of the Church of Christ require and demand the maintenance of our separate distinct organizations.

And after this, with expressions in regular diplomatic style of distinguished *personal* considerations, and with a manifest touch of sarcasm, they were permitted to depart in peace.

At the General Conference of 1872, held in Brooklyn, the subject of our relations with the Southern Church was brought into notice by "sundry petitions, memorials, and resolutions," all of which were referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," which body in due time reported in substance—and their report was adopted—that the Methodist Episcopal Church having entered the parts of the country in which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has most of its members and churches, and having there received many members and established numerous local churches and all proper ecclesiastical institutions, it is neither at liberty nor disposed to abandon that part of its work; but because it is deemed very desirable that the two Methodisms should co-exist in harmony, and in order that their good fellowship should be the more clearly indicated, it was declared that—

To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them, be it hereby

Resolved, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session.

In the debates on this occasion the action of the General Conference of 1848 was justified, and every possible modification of it definitely refused, and also distinct notice was given that there existed no purpose on our part of abandoning our work in the Southern States.

The delegation so provided for accordingly appeared at the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1874, at Louisville, but somehow their credentials were so far defective that they contained nothing of the declaration of our purpose to continue in the South, which had been made as a condition preliminary to the action providing for a fraternal delegation. The omission was unfortunate, as it might seem to imply a willingness on the part of somebody to ignore the attitude of those who had ordered the delegation toward those to whom they were accredited, and the omission and its apparent intention were noticed and commented upon by one of the Southern delegates, since chosen and ordained a Bishop. But our delegates were at length received on their credentials, their addresses heard, and so fraternal relations between the "two Methodisms" were formally inaugurated.

It is noteworthy that in every instance the overtures in favor of closer relations between the two bodies have come from our side, and that while the proposals in favor of "fraternity" have been entertained by our Southern brethren, all such concessions have been accompanied with the declaration that no proposition in favor of "organic union" could be entertained. All the wooing and coquetting has been made from the Northern side, but not by any properly official action, although certain of our "officials" have occasionally become a little superserviceable on that line.

In these attempted negotiations the South appears usually to have had the better side of the game, the reasons for which are quite obvious, and they are such as to cast no discredit upon the winning party. They evidently see, what some among us appear to be unwilling to recognize, that there are such considerable and deep-seated differences between the two bodies, in their substance and spirit, that their incorporation into a single organization would result only in discord and confusion. The rupture in 1844–45 was the result of causes that lay deeper than the accidents of civil institutions or ecclesiastical theories. "They went out from us because they were not of us," nor need we decide whose was the fault, nor whether it may not have been for the better rather than the worse that there was a separation between inharmonious elements. Slavery may have been the occasion which precipitated the disruption; but the originating cause lay deeper, in the differences of mental habits and in the diverse civilizations of the people of the two regions. And these

causes survive the extinction of slavery as a legalized institution, and therefore the influences that precipitated the separation still live and operate to make its continuance a necessity. There come times "in the course of human events," when separations are needed for the peace and prosperity of both sides. So for the sake of peace Abraham and Lot departed from each other; and so in Methodism, for the better prosecution of its mission, the American scion separated from the parent stock beyond the sea; and later the Canadian branch was cut off from the American trunk; and later still the south side of American Methodism was separated into a distinct ecclesiastical organization. If it is said that man may not put asunder what God has joined together, so also we learn that the divine wisdom has fixed the bounds of the habitations of the nations, and the latter process is as really of God, and as profitable to men, as the former, and each is best in its time and place. We see therefore no good reason for desiring the reuniting of the two great divisions of American Methodism, believing still, as was said in the Report of 1872, that "there is abundant room for both us and them, and God may use both of these Churches for the promotion of his cause." And though there will necessarily be occasional cases of friction where the two touch upon each other, these need not be either frequent nor greatly disastrous; and in any case they would be incomparably less troublesome than the deeper internal disorders sure to arise from the commingling of uncongenial elements in the same body.

The magnitude to which the Methodist Episcopal Church has grown, with its promise of almost unlimited increase in the near future, should suggest to its ruling minds the need for devising and executing measures to guard against the dangers of such an overgrowth. There is much greater call for *distribution* of governmental administration than of *concentration* and *centralization*. Christian freedom and ecclesiastical "home rule" are conditions requisite to evangelistic effectiveness. We want no Ecumenical Methodism.

While not doubting that the continued maintenance of some of our minor denominations is neither called for nor susceptible of justification, we are still very well satisfied that a multiplicity of "sects" is by no means an unmixed evil. Their existence is not only not incompatible with Christian union, but is rather promotive of it, on the same principle that small proprietors favor good neighborhood. Local and traditional preferences and personal tastes all enter largely into church life, and their gratification tends to liberty, which is inferior only to the influences of the word and the Spirit as a condition of Christian development. The waste of power caused by too much distribution of the religious forces in small denominational sections is largely compensated for by the absence of internal disorders, and by the activities necessarily awakened, and therefore, while representing the most numerous religious body in the land, we are quite willing, with the generosity of Uncle Toby, to say to even the least of the sisterhood of the Churches, "The world is wide enough for all of us."

CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT PROBLEM.

[Second Paper.]

There are special reasons, aside from its moral and religious considerations, which give importance to the social and industrial problem of the present time. Great changes have occurred within two generations in the relations of capital and labor as instruments of production, and in the relative importance of the two classes represented by them. There has never been such opportunity as this century affords for the legitimate accumulation of property. There has never before been such security for the most unlimited fortunes, whether acquired by productive industry, commerce, or speculation. There has never been greater temptation to greed of gain, by grasping vast landed estates, the control of the highways of commerce, or the lotteries of mining and speculation. There has never been a time, certainly in modern history, when wealth could exert greater influence upon government. A thoughtful merchant in one of our large cities, writing on this subject, suggests the resemblance of this age in America to that of the Roman Cæsars, as described by Froude, when

> the offices were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on the popular platform. Distinctions of birth had been exchanged for distinctions of wealth. The struggles between plebeian and patrician for equality of privilege were over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society.—*Thurber, in Homiletic Monthly*, April, 1884, p. 412.

The sudden and vast increase of private fortunes in this country within the last half-century—since 1850, in fact—is one of the most remarkable facts of history. Forty years ago the millionaires of America could be counted on a man's fingers. Then a man worth a hundred thousand dollars was very rich. Now a hundred thousand is but the moderate beginning of a fortune. With this increase of individual wealth are two or three other facts which serve at once to increase accumulation and to multiply the power of money. One of these is, that our legislators are more generally rich men, and are chosen because they are rich. The ways of politics are such now that it is coming to be felt that a poor man can neither afford to be a candidate for Congress, nor (if honest) to be a member if elected. On the other hand, political parties seek for rich men as candidates for office, and the millionaire seeks or buys office as a badge of nobility, or a means of protecting or advancing his financial interests. Another fact, partly the outgrowth of the first, is, that legislation so jealously guards property, giving it better protection than is afforded to virtue or human life. The gains of the rum-seller are better cared for than the morality of the drinker—the profits of the coal company more than the safety of the miner.

Still another fact is, the facilities which legislation affords for the amassing of wealth. The whole drift of legislation is to aid in the accumulation of large fortunes rather than the equalization of property. So, also, it

favors the massing of many fortunes under one control. The great Mogul of this country to-day is the CORPORATION. Itself an innocent institution, and if legitimately used profitable to society, it becomes in the hands of unscrupulous managers the instrument of oppression and robbery. By it a few men control the trans-continental highways of traffic, as once Algerine pirates controlled the commerce of the Mediterranean. By it the various manufactures of the country are massed and governed. By it useful inventions become at once monopolies and means of extortion and accumulation. Steam and electricity are slaves of Crœsus. The little telephone instrument, which costs three or four dollars, pays to capital an annual rental of thirty to one hundred dollars.

As the result of inventions and the application of natural forces not only are manufactures vastly increased and improved, but it comes about that the single laborer can no longer be the independent manufacturer; much less can the same mechanic, however skilled, carry on by himself a series of successive operations. Once the farmer's wife could take the wool from the fleece and transform it into the gown for her daughter. Not unfrequently the tanner could take the hide from the slaughter and put it through all the successive processes till it was fashioned into a finished boot. Now it takes scores of men and women, and thousands of dollars and untold mechanical and chemical forces, with intricate machinery, to make a yard of cloth or a single shoe. And by this change labor has become a subordinate factor in the process. Especially has skilled labor lost its relative importance, since so much of manufacture requires not mechanical skill and dexterity, but merely the watching and feeding of self-acting machines. In effect, what was and could be only the possession and property of the mechanic by years of practice has now become through inventions and mechanical forces the instrument of capital. It is estimated that, in the modern system of manufactures, one thousand dollars of capital must be invested for every worker employed. But it is to be remembered that in most employments the single thousand and the one laborer cannot set up business. The operatives must work in gangs, and the capital must be massed.

The methods of trade have changed not less than those of manufactures, and much in the same way. Even retailing is now, so to speak, done by wholesale. Immense stocks and stores and combinations have taken the place of retail shops. The milkman of the city is only the delivery clerk for the milk association monopoly, which buys of the farmer and sells to the consumer, dictating the prices to both.

We are not to assume that these changes are wholly bad. They may result in temporary or individual loss or inconvenience, and yet be, when completed, for the general good. They are here presented only as complications of the social-financial problem.

Certain social results from these changes must also be noted, and not least the change in the relation of employer and employed. Once in this country their relation was that of associates and friends. The apprentice lived in his master's family, was the equal of his sons, married his daugh-

ter, and succeeded to his business. The same thing was true in trade. The clerk was apprenticed to the merchant to learn his business, and lived in his family on terms of social equality. He was in most intimate social relations with his employer, and public opinion and law alike made the master responsible for the moral and social standing of his apprentice. Through these the master had means to powerfully influence the habits and character of his employees, and the apprentice was appealed to by strong motives to win the good opinion of his master.

How different are the relations of employer and employed now! The two classes are distinct, and almost wholly ignorant of each other. The owner of the factory knows nothing of the people in his employ, as he knows nothing of their toil or skill. He does not understand their wants nor enter into their sympathies, and the workman hardly feels that the capitalist belongs to his race. The heads of vast mercantile houses do not know their clerks and salesmen, except in a sort of mechanical way, as certain forces or machines for disposing of goods. Cash boys and bobbin-boys are, like money-tills or spinning-jennies, instruments for bringing in money, and the capitalist may discharge the one or throw aside the other with equal indifference to any consideration but gain.

The effect of all this is to separate the capitalist and laborer into two classes, ignorant of, and often hostile to, each other. Capital becomes to labor a heartless tyrant; labor to capital an ignorant, brutal mob. Each feels obliged to combine against the other—capital against the aggressive demands of labor, and labor to force something more from capital. All the more completely are these results brought about when capital is represented by the impersonal corporation, and the workman comes in contact with none but agents and overseers.

This increasing separation of classes, and their consequent mutual ignorance of each other, is an increasing danger to society. The old baronial times and the relations of feudalism had this mitigation, that while each was born into the class in which he lived, and while the lower classes were dependent largely on the lord, he, in turn, was helpless without the labor and martial strength of his people; and more than this, that the retainer and serf, even, were personally known to the chief. They met together in martial and athletic festivals, and at all the great feasts of the lord of the manor the yeoman sat at the table of his lord, though it was "below the salt." These were times when

> "opened wide the baron's hall
> To vassal, tenant, serf, and all;
> Power laid his rod of rule aside,
> And Ceremony doffed his pride.
> The heir, with roses in his shoes,
> That night might village partner choose;
> The lord, underogating, share
> The vulgar game of post and pair."

Moreover, there was often, as in the Scottish clans, the bond of kinship between the chief and the lowest clansman, and the pride of blood was in the lowest as well as in the highest. Here in the United States there

are no such mitigations of birth or associations. And, paradoxical as it may seem, the class feeling is embittered by the fact that often the very rich and the very poor began as school-mates and playfellows—the silver-king was a hod-carrier, and the cattle-king a stable boy, and neither has quite outgrown his early tastes and limitations. There is no reason apparent on the surface why one of these school-boys should be a millionaire and another a laborer. This separation of the American people into classes, ignorant of and growingly hostile to each other, is already a source of danger to the order and peace of society, before which capital has more than once had occasion to tremble. It becomes subversive of liberty just so far as the poverty of one class and the immorality of the other makes the ballot a marketable commodity. It is anti-Christian so far as it forgets the second great commandment.

The Christian mastery of wealth must include the mastery of the whole range of business. It must incorporate into the laws of trade that divine statute, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It must forbid the obtaining of excessive prices by means of false reports or artificial scarcity, as well as by false representations of quality or quantity. Short weight, poor material, corners in the market, and artificial panics are, according to the Christian standard, forms of robbery. It does not change the principle that the mechanic, who complains of oppression in his wages, is just as eager to buy his clothing at prices which mean starvation to the needle-woman, or that the lady who is noted for her Christian charity boasts of her wonderful bargains—goods purchased at less than cost of material. That these methods of unjust gain run through all branches of trade does not affect the Christian principle, though it may show how wide is the field yet to be subdued by Christian cultivation. The purpose to get something for nothing is the unchristian principle permeating alike the stock and wheat gambling, shoddy manufacture, adulteration of foods, and chaffering in trade.

Undoubtedly Christianity must require the exercise of the virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance, but not, as has been too often perversely taught, for the sake of accumulation. It requires that industry be not only productive, but beneficially productive. Society claims the right to say that a man shall not give his labor to injurious industry, such as the burglar's toil, the counterfeiter's skill, the manufacture of certain poisons or explosives, except under rigid supervision. Christianity will forbid any, however profitable, industry, whose product is useless or injurious to man. The manufacture of that which ruins health, dethrones reason, or corrupts morals, is worse than idleness. Trade which involves only the exchange of the valueless or the injurious, can have no Christian justification in the fact that it serves as a means to accumulate wealth in the hands of the trader.*

* The acceptance of this principle removes all foundation for the claim of the liquor interest to legal sanction and protection. The claim of the distiller is, that he is engaged in a great productive industry, employing immense capital and large forces of labor, while the liquor traffic employs large capital and many men in the

The Christian solution of the financial problem must include the wide distribution of property. Undoubtedly the equalization of wealth is for the welfare of the State, promotive alike of political purity, social morality, industry, intelligence, and material comfort. An aristocracy of wealth tends to become a political oligarchy, and the people, without material interest in the welfare of the State, tend to become the tools of demagogues. Under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, legislation must reverse the traditions and practices of the past, and favor the distribution of property rather than its accumulation and transmission in masses from generation to generation. Legislation must emphasize that survival of the earlier communism, and especially emphasize its moral side, that property rights are subordinate to the welfare of the State, and so that personal wealth is less important than the general good. Christianity must go further, and declare that the individual welfare is the important thing, and that the gaining and retaining of wealth is comparatively unimportant. The first effect of Christianity was to dethrone wealth. It did not deny property rights, but it did subordinate those rights to the higher claims of brotherhood. "Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own," as against the common needs of the Church, "but they had all things common," and they distributed as each had need. Wealth, like other talent of apostle or believer, became an instrument of Christian service. If there have been changes in the condition of society, Christian principles have not changed since Pentecost. Wealth is still subordinate to human need.

The accumulation of wealth, whether regarded as a right, or power, or privilege, must be regulated by the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The aggregate wealth of society, however vast and however it may be gradually increased by the surplus products of labor or the discovery of new values and new forces, is yet limited. Individual wealth, however small, is a portion of the aggregate wealth of society. In this country the millions of single individuals bear some appreciable proportion to the total wealth of the nation. What one man holds, therefore, whether by inheritance or as the accumulated products of industry, by so much limits the possible possessions of others. If one man inherits one half the wealth of the preceding generation, there remains but one half to be distributed among the rest of society. If a few become possessed of large portions of land, that necessitates a great multitude of landless people. The rapid and large accumulation of wealth by the few, in any community, has its counterpart in a great multitude of people who are simply getting a living. The men with ten or a hundred millions are balanced

various departments of purchase and distribution. Let it rather be stated that it is the employment of capital and labor in the destruction of so much food, and the production of that which, in the aggregate, is worse than useless to mankind; that its fruits are destructive to health, reason, and morals, so that society would be benefited by the idleness of all the laborers and the destruction of all the capital employed in the business.

by tens of thousands in poverty. If one man has accumulated the surplus profits of the labor of a thousand men—that is, the product of their labor above what has been consumed in their support—and thereby made himself a millionaire, he has by that fact made accumulation of surplus impossible for nine hundred and ninety-nine others. If through the avenues of trade the surplus products of a province become the property of one man, then nobody else can acquire wealth from that province. It may be a question whether any man has a Christian right to unlimited inheritance, or whether any man can righteously accumulate millions of dollars in a lifetime. That is to say, it may be doubtful whether a man employing the labor of others has the right to pay so small wages and to reserve to himself so large a share of the products of labor as to accumulate his millions of dollars; or whether, buying in one market and selling in another, he has the right to make profits which will aggregate millions. But there can be no question that the Christian law requires that whatever the man possesses shall be used for the good of humanity. Equally certain is it that this requirement, fairly met, would cut off entirely many of the methods of rapid accumulation of property, and would greatly modify the methods of gain by the employment of productive industry. It would relieve the laborer from oppression, and secure the harmonious co-operation of capital and labor. The law of love would counterbalance the greed of gain, and secure the constant distribution of wealth among the many rather than its accumulation in the hands of the few, and its transmission in great fortunes from generation to generation.

Such application of Christian principle there must be in order to the progress of society. Wealth must not be the measure of worth or of honor. Mammon must not dominate the Church. The way must be opened for righteous legislation and honest execution of the laws; for the benefit of humanity rather than for the feeding of avarice.

D. H. Ela.

THE LABOR TROUBLES AND THE SABBATH LAW.

So many impertinent and nonsensical things have been said and written on the Sunday question, that not a few intelligent people are tired of it and turn away from its study. So, likewise, has the Sabbath Question been so generally discussed from the religious side as to divert attention from its scientific importance. Let us, then, examine briefly the scientific aspects of the case, and the connection of the fundamental law, known from earliest times, with the Labor Question of the present times.

First of all, it must be observed, that if we had no inspired books and no religious teaching in regard to the Sabbath, it is plain that our scientific investigation would lead us to the detection of the fundamental law in the case. Thus it is observed, in regard to the toughest materials which can be manufactured into utensils of civilization, that there is in them the equivalent of a seventh-day law. A rail-car or private carriage, a vehicle made of wood and iron, will last longer in its separate parts and

in their combination provided perfect rest be given them every seventh day. A steam-boiler will do its work longer and better if cooled every seventh day. It is found that more can be got out of an estate descending in a family if its fields be left fallow every seventh year. Now these fields are made up of a soil combining several elements. It does not seem to have been determined whether this requisition for the seventh-day rest be in the elements or in the atoms thereof, or in the combination of the elements into what we call soil As yet that has eluded scientific investigation; but the fact remains, that acres of soil contain in themselves this virtual sabbatic requisition.

Repeated experiments have shown that the same thing is true of animals. A draft-horse will pull as much on the seventh day as on the first if he have good stabling, good grooming, and good food. The same may be said of his capabilities on the fourteenth day and on the twenty-first day under similar favorable conditions; but in the long run of five years he shows the effect of the neglect of the observance of a law written in every fiber of his body. A railway company using two hundred horses, as near the same age as they can be procured, and running one hundred of them continuously and resting the other hundred each seventh day, will soon begin to discover the difference, and the tables of the broken-down and prematurely superannuated horses will begin to tell their story.

The same holds good in regard to men, whether considered as to their physical labor or their mental exertions. Two lawyers of equal physique and brain power, as nearly as can be determined at the beginning of their course, may go on working; one devoting himself to his profession three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and the other carefully abstaining on every seventh day from all thought in regard to questions connected with either the theory or the practice of his profession, will not require a score of years to show the difference of the two treatments. Religion does not seem to have any thing to do with it. A clergyman may be a saintly man, as saints are counted, and yet if he do not set apart one day in each week of seven days in which he will persistently abstain from all theologic study and all pastoral work, he will by and by begin to endure the penalties of a violated law. This is one reason why there are so many and such early breakdowns among Christian ministers. There is, perhaps, no body of men so largely Sabbath-breakers as is the Christian ministry. The regulations of society compel other men, in some degree, to abstain from work one day in the seven. The banks and exchanges are closed one day in the seven; so are the courts. There are many other brakes put upon human activities; but the clergyman may begin on Monday morning, and work every day and night of the week, sitting up late on Saturday night to finish his sermon, and then attending to his Sunday-school and preaching, and administering the sacraments, and, perhaps, officiating at a funeral on Sunday, and the next morning commence the same round again for another week. And he may do all this without ever attracting any attention to himself as a Sabbath-breaker. But the law of his physical and mental constitution is all the same. Bodily health, pro-

longed capability to work and to enjoy life, and long life itself, are three things dependent upon having the equivalent of a seventh-day rest. The bishop and the atheist are equally amenable to this law. The time of rest may or may not be employed in religious exercises; but the demand for abstinence on the seventh day from the courses of activity of the other six days is imperative. The observance of this law is indispensable for the enjoyment of the life that now is, whether or not there be any life hereafter.

No law has been more plainly found imbedded in the fibers and nerves of animals, and in the brains of the highest animals, than this Sabbath law. There seems to be none other that has been longer known to the human race. There are intimations of it in the oldest literature extant. There is no ascertaining when it was first known, because in the oldest writings in possession of the race it is assumed as already well known, being at that time presented to human thought in its religious connections, apparently without the slightest suspicion of its having what we are accustomed to consider a scientific foundation, as in these latter days we have discovered it to possess. In the oldest of the sacred books it is utilized for religious purposes. The God of the Hebrews, through the first ministers of his religion, in nationalizing a people on the basis of a theocracy, appointed for them one day in the seven, one year in the seven, and one year at the close of the seven times seven years for certain religious observances, to be connected with certain civil arrangements; and God made these the vertebrated column of the whole anatomy of that theocracy.

It would seem that no religion, published under any sanctions, human or divine, could maintain itself among any people for any considerable series of years which had not in nature the foundation on which to build. The Israelitish system had that foundation. The beats of all the pulses of the universe are in octaves, marking the closes of the series of seven. It is not difficult to see that if a religious man observe this, and then be asked why the God of the Israelites should have promulgated the system he is reported to have done in the old Hebrew books, he would say something like this: All religion is based upon a recognition of God, of God's proprietorship of the universe. The seventh-day law is God's assertion of his ownership of time; that is to say, of human life. The sabbatic year is the assertion of God's ownership in the land. The year of jubilee, in which real estate reverted, debt was canceled, and slaves liberated, is God's assertion of his ownership of every thing which can be considered property. The difference between religion and non-religion would seem to lie in the difference between acknowledging God's universal proprietorship and the claiming of that proprietorship for human beings.

The scientific question whether religion or non-religion is better, may be determined by an investigation of the results on a large scale of an acknowledgment of God's proprietorship in every thing, or in the contrary, practically living upon the supposition that land and time and all the products of industry belong absolutely to the race. Could we have a large territory inhabited only by people who in every thought and act of their lives acknowledge the proprietorship of God, whose religious exercises

perpetually remind them of that truth and kindle in them emotions appropriate to the reception of such a truth—and then could we have another territory of equal size, and equally populated, but by people who thoroughly reject God's proprietorship, and never allow in an individual case any religious service which acknowledges that truth—and could we then compare the result upon the physical, intellectual, moral, and social condition of the two peoples at the close of a sufficiently long season of trial, we should have a very full, clear, and sufficient evidence to settle this question forever. But as things are, we have to take the peoples in which one or the other of these theories dominates. Take, then, a community in which there is a rational observance of the Sabbath law—I do not say of the rabbinical Sabbath, nor of puritanical Sunday regulations, but a rational keeping to what is scientifically provable to be the law in the case—and compare that community with another in which, so far as it ever has been done, the Sabbath idea is, not to say rejected, but simply ignored, we shall begin to have much light on this subject.

We come now to look at the connection of this law with the present labor troubles.

These troubles seem to arise from the strained relations of capital and labor, and they come to a head where large capital and many hands are employed. It is charged upon the part of labor that it is not sufficiently remunerated; it is charged upon the part of capital that it cannot make out of the labor it employs enough to justify an increase of remuneration. Going behind these two statements, we find that ordinarily the trouble bursts out where there is a large amount of capital brought together, and employed by a corporation using a great number of hands to carry on this work. On the side of capital it will be observed that there is usually a violation of the Sabbath law, so far as both the corporation and the laborers are concerned. The corporation does not take pains to rest its men and its machinery one day in every week. Now, according to the Sabbath law, that machinery must deteriorate and those men must do their work badly; so that on both sides the income of a corporation is annually diminished by the neglect to observe a law as fixed as the law of gravitation. A railway whose trains should stop at twelve o'clock some night, and lie still for twenty-four hours, while all its employees are perfectly at rest from their labors, whether in worship or whatever else may be necessary for recuperation, would in the course of the year, no doubt, largely increase its net profits by diminishing its expenses. Then there would be a further increase from the great diminution of injury done to the machinery by accidents. The accidents must be much greater where physical laws are not observed than where they are. Switchmen, brakemen, and engineers working on, seven days in each week, by and by come to such a state of brain, nerve, and muscle as to increase their liability to accidents which destroy property.

Then, too, the corporation injures itself by paying men six days' wages for a week's work, whereas men should always be paid a full week's wages for six days' work, so that the pot may be kept boiling while the men are

observing the law of recuperation. If it be said that this is a Utopian idea, the reply is, that such a statement implies that it is impracticable for rational beings to devise reasonable ways of keeping well-known physical laws. If that be true, then there can be no reform of any kind, and no place for any discussion. But on what ground can it be established that such a thing is impracticable? Suppose it were admitted that the public weal demanded the running of all the cars, on both passenger and freight lines, on a certain railway, day and night continuously, through consecutive years. Even that would not necessarily render the observance of the Sabbath law impracticable. We do let our men off for purposes of sleep. Neglect of sleep tells so quickly disastrously, that we are compelled to listen to the imperative demand; and so men work through a limited portion of the twenty-four hours, and it is called a week's work, whether it be six, eight, ten, or fifteen hours a day. Twenty-four hours make a day, but we never demand twenty-four hours for a day's work, and we should not demand seven days for a week's work. It would be quite practicable to make such relays of men in every department as we do of engines, even if the work of the road, in all its parts, went on continuously; and then each man would be able to observe the Sabbath law.

Moreover, the corporation does itself the injury of deteriorating the quality of all its workmen. If, for the sake of wages needed by wife and child at home, a workman can be induced to go forward, week in and week out, the man's moral sense, as well as his brain power, becomes deteriorated. Laying aside all religion, on any other ground on which the necessity of telling the truth or abstaining from stealing can be placed, on that same ground rests the Sabbath law. If I am the employer of five hundred men, they know that if I induce them, by hope of reward or fear of loss, to work on against the law of their nature in respect to rest, I would, for the same consideration, have them work on in violation of veracity or of right in property. Apart from religious considerations, if there be any obligation on earth it is equal in all these three departments; and if I become party to the violation of the Sabbath law by my employees, I become party to a lessening in them of a high regard for the right of property; if, then, they abstract what belongs to me, I have simply myself taught them to do so. A man cannot long violate the Sabbath law without becoming untruthful and dishonest, any more than a man can injure his brain without injuring his stomach, or *vice versa.*

Now let us turn to the laborer's side. The violation of a law of nature in his person brings on an abnormal sanitary condition, one which ordinarily shows itself in a demand for some artificial stimulant to make up for the lost rest. In vast numbers of cases, intemperance is a natural physical result of a violation of the Sabbath law. Intemperance is costly in three ways. In the first place it causes the laborer to lose a portion of his time, and so reduces his wages. In the second place it causes him to do his work in an inferior manner, and thus lessens his stipulated wages. In the third place, in addition to the prime cost, it involves expenditures not otherwise required. So we see that, from whatever

motive the laborer may set at defiance the Sabbath law, he will find his penalty.

Let us now reverse the picture. Suppose every capitalist, in employing laborers, paid each man seven days' wages for six days' work, so that he should have no disquietude on the seventh day in taking the demanded and absolutely indispensable rest. Suppose he gave repose to all his machinery during a seventh day, and suppose, at the same time, every laborer absolutely abstained from all the usual employments and every other kind of wearing and physical labor, and rested the seventh day; would there not begin immediately to ensue a relaxation of the strained relations of capital and labor? If any dependence is to be placed upon the results of scientific investigation of the laws of labor, such a relaxation *would* take place, at least to such a degree as to make the relations approximately harmonious. There would thus be an immense relief, and thereafter all discussions between the two parties would be less nervous, passionate, and spasmodic, and every question could be examined in a light which would show its relations to the interests of both parties.

It has not been our purpose to make this paper a comprehensive discussion of the labor troubles in all their aspects, but to confine it very strictly to the examination of the relations of capital and labor to one single, settled law of nature and of human society. CHARLES F. DEEMS.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

FROM THE DARK CONTINENT.—The Apostolic Vicar for Catholic Missions in Soudan has just returned from Assouan, whither he had gone in order to obtain exact information concerning the condition of the priests and nuns who are still captives of the Mahdists. His efforts to see them were unsuccessful, although the mission station in Assouan still maintains pleasant relations with the natives. The followers of the Mahdi were too strong for him. From the territory beyond Dongola no information can be obtained.

The latest tidings from Shoa, in Abyssinia, come to us from Aden through the caravan of a French trader. Under the protection of this escort, two Germans and two Swedish missionaries had reached the coast. Of the Germans, Mayer had been there thirty years, and Greiner, fourteen; but they were expelled at the express command of King John, who will no longer permit missionaries of any faith to remain in his land. King Menelik, of Shoa, would gladly have retained them, but even he was powerless to protect them from expulsion.

With the same French caravan there arrived also a great caravan of seven hundred slaves from Galla Land, which left the usual route between Assab and Obok in order to send these slaves to southern Arabia. The facts thus disclosed concerning the extent of the slave-trade from Soudan are heart-rending, and there is now no doubt that in these Negro

lands, formerly under the supervision of the Egyptian government, the slave-trade is being carried on to an extent that in a few years will depopulate them.

The Italian consul in Aden lately sent a dispatch to Rome announcing the total destruction of Porro's expedition. This enterprise was undertaken by the Geographical Society of Milan, and was equipped in the most perfect manner. Its object was to establish commercial relations between Abyssinia and the Nile, and to explore the unknown regions between these points. Despite the warnings of the English authorities, Porro set out with a suite of distinguished savants and experts, and safely reached Galdezza, where after a desperate resistance all of the members of the expedition were murdered. It is now said that the Italians are determined to send a large military expedition that will annihilate Hawa, the hostile chief, and all his followers.

Abyssinia seems to be the slaughter-house and grave-yard of explorers and missionaries. Barral, a French explorer, who was nearly at the end of his journey, and separated from his main body in order to reach Shoa more expeditiously, was attacked by a division of Danakils, and murdered with all his suite. The German missionaries who five days later passed the same spot found unmistakable evidences of the massacre in the bones of the victims scattered around by the hyenas and vultures. The news from Dahomey, now under the protectorate of Portugal, seems somewhat more favorable. Prisoners of war are kept as slaves—not murdered.

The History of the Reformation is now receiving unusual attention throughout Germany. An association was formed in 1883 for the thorough investigation of all sources that might yield information on this point. It has had annual gatherings without much eclat until the last one, recently convened in Frankfort-on-the-Main. This was a grand success, and showed that much useful investigation is being instituted to this end. The "evangelical consciousness" is clearly on the rise in the German heart, when seven thousand members can be obtained for this object.

At this general meeting there were present historians and theologians from nearly all the German Universities, under the lead of the famous Professor Köstlin, of Halle. At the initial service of the occasion Dr. Baur, of Coblentz, the chief Protestant of his district, preached the sermon. The principal meeting was attended by a large concourse from the city, among which were the mayor and magistracy and all the Protestant clergy. Köstlin, as presiding officer on the occasion, gave a clear insight into the aims and labors of the association, emphasizing the fact that these were to seek after the truth and not to cultivate any special line of church policy.

Dr. Schott, of Stuttgart, delivered an address marked by great intellectuality, on Frankfort as the refuge of persecuted Protestants. This was so acceptable that it is shortly to appear in print. Pastor Meille, of

Catania, then depicted the condition of the Waldensian congregations and Protestantism at large in Italy. Professor Kolde, of Erlangen, gave a general review of the work of the association and the publications that had already signalized its labors. The convention closed its sessions, as always in Germany, with a banquet after a business meeting. The "Germania," the ultramontane organ of Germany, will now need to cease its sneers regarding this movement.

NORWAY is now greatly agitated over certain reforms advanced in the pretended interest of the Church, but more than likely, in the opinion of many of the Christian people of the land, to do it on the whole great harm. The present ministerial president—Johann Svendrup—has acquired great power over the masses of the radical party, and figures, in the eyes of some, more as demagogue than as reformer. He and the king are at swords' points, and the monarch finds him a formidable antagonist.

Under the form of radical bills, many propositions are laid before the Chambers that look very threatening for the cause of religion. The minister considers that the time has come to attempt an onslaught on the Lutheran Church of Norway, which doubtless has allowed many abuses to grow gray in its administration, but which is very dear to the great body of the Norwegians. The Lutheran circles have therefore not delayed to express their dissatisfaction at these measures, and have united in a strong and unmistakable protest regarding them. As soon as the contents of these proposed laws were known, the theological faculty of the University and the clergy of Christiania placed themselves at the head of a movement to send an address to the king and the Chambers in regard to the "dangers that threaten the Church."

In this appeal the king is earnestly requested to call, in the near future, a Church Convention for the consideration of the proposed measures of the government, so far as they affect the life of the Church, which have as yet been subjected to no ecclesiastical investigation. In the words of the address: "For centuries no reforms have been proposed that cut so deeply into the church-life of Norway. The organization of congregations is to be changed, and the mode of filling the parochial offices is to be radically altered. Free congregations are to rise in the midst of the State Church, the mode of marriage contracts is to be altered, and, in a word, the entire *modus operandi* of the Church is to undergo a very radical change."

At the conclusion of this address, the signers express their deepest conviction that many of these reform laws will work far more mischief than good, and that they contain the germs of dissolution for the Lutheran Church of Norway. It is affirmed that the great majority of the clergy of the country will sign this address, and in the meanwhile the Chambers have adjourned without taking any action in regard to the proposed reform laws of the Church. Now it is doubtless true that the Lutheran Church of Norway needs a grand overhauling for the purpose of weeding out abuses; but the fear in the minds of many is, that the main

object is destruction rather than reformation. If this threat can stir up the church circles to necessary measures on their own part it will be of great value to spiritual religion.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, among other good movements regarding Christian life, is endeavoring to reach some kind of uniformity and unity concerning "Sabbath Observance;" and a recent publication, entitled "A Systematic View of the Police Regulations regarding Manual Labor on the Sabbath and Church Holidays," has given the authorities a substantial basis for practical measures regarding the same. From this it appears that the laws and regulations are so various and so vague that there is among them no consistency and no harmony. With a view to effect more of these qualities the measures have been divided into three main groups.

The first group aims mainly at the protection of public divine service; the second, not only at the divine service, but also the public observance of the entire day; and the third, in addition to divine service and Sabbath observance, also at the rest from labor and trade. The investigations of these Sunday laws in Germany is something quite curious. Many of these regulations proscribe work in factories; some of them forbid labor on the part of artisans generally; and others, the ordinary methods of trade and commerce. But nearly all of them permit exceptions, and thereby the inequality of their operation becomes still greater. Of these laws but very few seek the protection of divine service; in nearly the half of Germany the object of the ordinances is simply rest from labor.

There is still greater want of uniformity in regard to commercial activity on the Sabbath; for on this point there are no less than four divisions or modes of prohibition: business is prohibited only during morning service on the Sabbath, or the prohibition extends to all of the time or period of service, or it is from day-break until service is ended, or it does not begin until nine o'clock in the morning. The strictest ordinances—those proscribing trade during the entire day—are found in Hesse, Fulda, and Frankfort; the weaker ones in Bavaria and Baden, affecting only certain days.

Prussia is clearly leading off in the move to make all laws extend to the entire day, and to make them alike in all the realm of the empire; her example will, it is hoped, be contagious in the German Parliament. The railroad corporations in several government districts have closed their car-shops on the Sabbath; and such a measure cannot fail to extend itself to other great industrial works. In case certain work is very pressing the men are allowed to work overtime on working days, and receive therefor enhanced pay. The district of Düsseldorf, many years ago, interdicted all work on the Sabbath and the Church festivals in the printing offices. This example is now quoted, and an effort is being made to extend it to the entire Prussian monarchy, for in Berlin and Cologne several of the daily journals are issued also on the Sabbath. A cry is also

becoming loud for an interdict on Sunday morning public concerts and popular assemblies. Shall we let the Germans shame us in this important matter?

SWITZERLAND, in its religious life, is still in a state of great unrest, especially in the French districts of that little land. The Methodist advance keeps up considerable agitation; and this, with the aggressive movements of the Salvation Army and the Adventists, is quite a thorn in the side of staid and conservative Churchmen. And, to make the matter still more uncomfortable for the religious conservatives, a certain Pastor Wood has recently arrived from Australia to teach a doctrine of faith and personal purity far beyond that of Pearsall Smith, who found there quite a following.

The editor of the "Chrêtien Evangelique" visited one of these holiness meetings of Mr. Wood, and was moved to speak about it in no measured terms; it was a new feature to him "that men who had faithfully served their God for years should acknowledge their sinful lives in the past and declare themselves renewed and reconsecrated to Christian work." And said editor, while acknowledging that it is ever necessary to appeal for mercy and pardon to a higher power, felt annoyed at being told that his past had not been up to the real Christian standard of purity and devotion. The doctrine of the "higher life," and that of the immediate conscious conversion of the soul by the visitation of the Divine Spirit, are not readily comprehended by the ordinary believer in the continental Churches.

In Neufchâtel the Salvationists have recently lost some of their influence; a portion of the "Free Church" there seemed inclined to leave their own connection and follow the agitators, but they have now returned to the bosom of the Church. Mr. Wood had by no means the success there that he obtained in Geneva, as he did not report a single case of faith-cure. The Free Church of this canton, which has made so many sacrifices for its cause, succeeded last year in obtaining the necessary funds to meet its expenses and show a small surplus at the end of the year. The lectures of the theological faculty were attended by twenty-two students, and thirty-five in all are under the guidance of the institution.

In the canton of St. Gall a very salutary law was recently passed in regard to Sabbath observance. Sundays, as well as certain holy days, are made legal holidays; during the morning service all stores and drinking places are to be closed, and neither gymnastic nor shooting festivals are allowed during this period. There has been, of course, a good deal of opposition to the law, but to the honor of the canton be it said, that in spite of all the activity of the inn-keepers they were not able to find the six thousand votes necessary to repeal it. In the canton of Herisau there has been quite a conflict regarding a preacher of a positivist tendency, but he was retained in his congregation by a goodly majority, to the sorrow of the more fervent Christians.

THE PROTESTANT SPANISH CHURCH has at last succeeded in gaining a status in Spain, as is announced with great joy from Madrid by the indefatigable Pastor Fliedner, who has greatly distinguished himself as a Christian pioneer in that country. Since 1871 there has been a certain union between the churches of the north and those of the south of Spain, in which Cabrera took a prominent position. But he was at first quite exclusively Presbyterian in his tendency, and then went suddenly into the Episcopalian Church and mission and caused himself to be elected bishop, although he has not yet received the Episcopal ordination.

On the other hand, the growing missions of the Americans in the north of Spain formed, in the summer of 1885, an "Iberian Protestant Union." On the occasion of the recent Synod of the Spanish Christian Church, to which Fliedner belongs, an effort was made to form a confederation with the above churches, and therefore the representatives of the Iberian Union were invited as guests. But even in this Synod there was a small party that could hardly consent to extend their creed broadly enough to render easy the access of the other churches.

But when, contrary to expectation, the accession of Pastor Empaytaz from Barcelona was effected, there grew for the Synod the hope not only of a confederation, but of a large congregational union. This was the aim for which Fliedner had worked for twelve years, and in which he had been supported by Carrasco of Malaga. It was therefore so much the more gratifying that through the efforts of Empaytaz, shortly before the close of the Synod, the union was effected. Abandoning the name of the "Spanish Christian Church," they joined under the general name of "Protestant Spanish Church." This does not yet include all the Protestant workers in Spain, but it is said to comprise the preponderating number of the congregations of the country from the north and the south who join in the common work. "This," says Fliedner, "is a blessing from the Lord, and a wonder before our eyes."

THE VATICAN AND CHINA is still the question among the diplomatic quidnuncs of the Old World. An authority from the Vatican declares that the initiative for diplomatic representation of the Curia in China came from the latter power. If this is the case, the French certainly have no claims to a protectorate in the matter; there will simply be a relation between China and papal Rome as between the latter and the Sublime Porte. In Constantinople the Curia is simply represented by a delegate who is under the protection of France. The Holy See, it is said, would be quite inclined to grant the wish of France; but since China would resent this as an interference in its internal affairs, the French proposition has not much prospect of success.

Latest reports declare that negotiations are still pending between France and the Vatican in regard to the matter. The "Temps" of Paris asserts that the authorizations lie wholly within the domain of the Church, and therefore the protectorate of France must be maintained. But reports from Rome announce that the efforts of the French embas-

sador in this matter have remained futile. So much is clear, namely, that the pope has sent his accord to China, and will soon dispatch thither a delegate as embassador extraordinary with a diplomatic character. China will accredit to the Vatican one of her diplomats now at some European court.

In the Baltic Provinces matters are in no better shape between them and Russia. In the government circles of St. Petersburg it is said the Baltic Consistories will treat with leniency the Protestant preachers accused of having performed certain divine offices on persons of the Greek faith. The emperor has commanded that in future all such cases must be settled before legal bodies, and the decision sent to him for final adjudication.

A St. Petersburg journal receives information from Dorpat that the Curator Kapustin, of the schools in that city, has received official notice that his office and administration must be removed to Riga by the beginning of the next school year. At the same time it is ordered that the highest institutions, as the University and the Polytechnic School, must be molded into the Russian spirit; that is, that those professors who are Russian subjects, and are familiar with the language of the empire, are obliged to deliver their lectures in the Russian tongue.

From a creditable source it is also affirmed that the Curator above mentioned, during his recent stay in St. Petersburg, recommended to the authorities not to change the language of the University of Dorpat into the Russian from the German, but to close the whole establishment with the exception of the theological faculty, and to make this simply a Theological Seminary. But this proposition seems not to have been accepted, though it is true that certain funds destined to aid German professors in removing to Dorpat have been absorbed. This means that the German tongue in the Dorpat schools is to die a slow death.

The French Chambers, as seen by one of its most thoughtful and liberal members, E. de Pressensé, are thus nervously and thrillingly depicted in his latest "Revue du Mois:"

"The parliamentary session has recommenced under sad auspices in the incoherence and cross-purposes of the interpellations with Jacobinic projects, such as the law for the expulsion of the princes, which radical folly proposes without winking, and which government weakness accepts in principle. In this steeple-chase of dangerous insanities the members of the Budget Commission of the Chamber of Deputies have desired to be the first to arrive at the goal in deciding that they would make no report on the budget of public worship. They thus struck it out with a dash of the pen, imagining by a single blow to cut the inextricable knot of claims and interests which are bound up in such a problem, without speaking of the political gravity of so rash a solution. The transitions to be arranged, the new legislation to be regulated, nothing of all these was worthy of an hour of examination. They made of these a clean sweep. Never did radicalism push its break-neck policy so far!

"M. Clemenceau, who before being the premier of to-morrow is the sovereign of to-day, conducted in person this beautiful freak. Thus to act is to give points to the Municipal Council of Paris, even after the recent insanities on the religious question in the scholastic point of view. We have exalted this momentary decision of the Budget Commission only in its character of a symptom. Moreover, the Chamber having taken into consideration the proposition of Michelet on the separation of the Church from the State, the question will be approached in a great debate. We could wish that our radicals of all shades might obtain a glance of the German press of these later days. They would see to what extent our conquerors of yesterday follow with an attentive eye our sterile combats and the strife of our parties; with what satisfaction they note our most perilous faults, and how they forget not for an hour the fearful shock of the two races which these announce and prepare. The sinister bird of prey is hovering over us with open eye and extended talons."

FATHER HYACINTHE is battling away in Paris on the socialistic question. He recently announced in the Winter Circus a discourse on the labor troubles of the day, and was favored with an audience that scarcely paid the expenses for the rent. His opponents interrupted him with stormy outbreaks, and finally absolutely prevented him by noise from proceeding with his speech. He denounced, as the danger of the period, materialism, unbelief, and the abnegation of the spirit, as leading back to barbarism and weakening all the feelings of life. His remedy for the improvement of society was to bring back God again into souls and into families. True liberalism lies in that direction, and property, in his opinion, is not a robbery nor a disgrace, but the reward of virtue as well as of work. After the orator had left the platform amid the wildest outcries of his hearers, he suddenly returned and exclaimed: "You are Germans, disciples of Büchner, but I belong to a nobler race. I feel within me the spirit of immortality; I am a pupil of Cartesius and the Druids!"

A COLONY FOR EPILEPTICS is the latest benevolent movement in Germany. And the founders of the enterprise appeal to the public for means to show love and sympathy for these poor outcasts, and give them a home where their souls and their bodies may find what little comfort is possible on earth to these pitiful creatures.

The number of epileptic wards from all parts of the land amounts to 795, and to these may be added 250 others suffering with the plague, especially some poor abandoned children. And even with these great numbers others stand waiting at the doors with pitiful appeals to be taken in as soon as these can again be opened. All this work has run up an unavoidable debt of 500,000 marks. This fact explains why the authorities of the institution are again counting on the loyalty of old friends to come forward in the hour of need. The representative man of this grand work is the well-known Pastor Bodelschwingh, whose name is a symbol of popular benevolence in the Fatherland.

And still another biblical commentary is soon to appear in Germany as an addition to Zöckler's "Manual of Theological Sciences." This latter bears the name, "Concise Commentary on the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Apocryphas." Professor Strock is to take general charge of the Old Testament, and Dr. Zöckler of the New. The necessity of this undertaking is based on the fact that the present commentaries are overloaded with learned material, wading through which is a task that retards rather than advances the practical study of the Bible. The issues are to appear in alternate sections from the two Testaments. We perceive among the names of the workers that of Luthardt on the Gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles by Zöckler. Dr. Rosgen leads off with the New Testament series. We can simply add that a plain, direct, and practical commentary for German students will doubtless be regarded by them as a boon and a blessing.

The famous African explorer Lieutenant Wissmann has just returned from Madeira to the Congo, where in Vivi he organized a caravan for Leopoldville, hoping to arrive in time to catch the mission steamer *Peace* for the upper waters and an expedition to Kassai. If he failed in this he would await the arrival of Stanley, who at latest accounts was soon expected at Stanley Pool. On the journey up the stream he will be accompanied by two Belgian officers who will take command of the *Luluaburg*. There, supported by his faithful Ba-luaba, he will organize a caravan to return to the east, but in a direction south of his great journey of 1881, which led him to Nyangwe. This region is of great interest in hydrographical matters, and here he expects, according to the accounts of the natives, to find Landschi Lake, in which the three upper arms of the Congo unite. As soon as he reaches this river he will descend it to Stanley Falls and thence to Stanley Pool.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Four Leading English Societies. — The four leading Foreign Mission Societies of England are, of course, the Baptist, the London, the Church, and the Wesleyan, arranging them in the order of time. The Baptist has entered upon its ninety-fifth year of organized usefulness; the London (Congregational), upon its ninety-third; the Church (representing the Evangelicals of the Church of England), upon its eighty-eighth; and the Wesleyan upon its seventieth, counting from the actual organization in 1817. Arranged in the order of income, the Church Society comes first, with its million and more of dollars; the Wesleyan second, with $690,825; the London third, with $620,390; and the Baptist fourth, with $308,000. The grand total is $2,780,200—a very handsome sum, indeed. Two of the societies, the Church and the Baptist, reached their highest figures in

income the past year. The anniversaries continue to be great events in the religious year of London.

The anniversary of the Church Society was graced this year by the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the preacher; an event so rare in the history of the society that the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" makes much of it. It was the second time that a primate had thus honored the society, Archbishop Longley being the first to perform the service, as long ago as 1863. Archbishop Benson, whose name has a strong interest for Methodists, discussed the topics of extension, increase of funds, the future of the Native Church, and the question of union in mission fields. On the last point, he said, On remote fields the old sectarian animosities seem to be regarded as discreditable on all sides, and amalgamation of Christian bodies is coming into the thought of all Christians. But amalgamation involves concession, and the Church of England cannot surrender any portion of its inheritance from the past. It has elasticity, but it also has distinct lines which it cannot ignore. It must continue faithful, come what may, to its "great deposit." Thus, if at all, will it become the bond of union. The society lost its honorary president, the Earl of Chichester, the past year, and Captain Mande, of the Royal Navy, was elected as his successor. Captain Mande has been identified with the society fifty years. Among the speakers at the anniversary were Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool, and Bishop Moule, of China. The society's missions, which are scattered over the entire globe, are for the most part in a very prosperous position. One of the most conspicuous of the exceptions is that of the Central African Mission, on the Victoria Nyanza. The missionaries have been in extreme peril, while some of the converts have suffered persecutions of extraordinary character. The young king is bad and brutal, and will neither allow the missionaries to withdraw nor to go on with their work. There are many stanch converts, and several young men are asking for baptism in the face of the terrible threats and acts of the king.

Central Africa is also the field in which the London Society has suffered most. Its losses on Lake Tanganyika have been very discouraging, but the society has resolved to fill up the depleted ranks of its missionary force and prosecute the mission with renewed vigor. Much of the lake has been explored, and a light-house has been erected on Kavala Island. Another light is soon to be established at the south end of the lake. The society considers the future of the mission to be hopeful. The South Sea missions of the society are passing through a season of severe trial. The incoming of the varied influences of civilization and commerce, the growth of formalism, and the occasional outbreak of old heathenish habits create special difficulties which must be dealt with very carefully and wisely. The society has withdrawn from Tahiti, its oldest mission, leaving three missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society to look after the native churches. The first missionaries landed in Tahiti in 1797, and labored until 1813 before a single sign of success was given them. In that year came a great awakening, and in 1821 native Christians went out from that island to

carry the Gospel to the Hervey group. In 1830 the same mission sent evangelists to the Navigator's, and from Samoa the cross was carried to the New Hebrides. It was also sent to the Loyalty Islands, whence, in 1870, it was carried to the island of New Guinea. The mission in New Guinea is now among the most promising fields of the society. Four gospels have been published in two dialects, and translations into two other dialects are in progress. Secretary Thompson closed his speech at the anniversary with these striking words :

> It has been my duty and privilege to read through all the reports which have come to us from the different mission stations. One impression has been deeper than another, and it has grown as I have read them. There has been much good, true work in various directions, and yet there is one great lack, which is apparent every-where. As you read through the reports, especially from the great eastern missions, I think you will feel that the evidence of that lack comes out in almost every one of them, and is expressed by many of the missionaries in the most painful terms. They have schools and teachers; they have abundant opportunities for preaching; but, somehow, something more is wanted. The people are moving up toward Christianity, but they stop before they profess themselves on Christ's side; or, having accepted Christianity, they remain still at the low, lukewarm stage of Christian character and progress. From every quarter the impression comes, and deepens as we go on reading, that the one thing needed now is a blessing from on high. God has given us the workers; God has given us unrivaled opportunities for work; God is opening up fresh fields of labor; God is preparing, by our means, the ground; and now he bids us look to him, ask of him the blessing; and if we wait and pray, the windows of heaven will be opened, and he will pour out such a blessing that there shall not be room to receive it.

The Wesleyan Society celebrated its anniversary this year with much speech-making. The annual meeting and the missionary breakfast are events second only to the Annual Conference in the Wesleyan ecclesiastical year. A dozen long speeches, more or less, by representative Wesleyans, such as the president of the Conference and the missionary secretaries, and by well-known missionaries, occupy the pages of "Wesleyan Notices," and testify to the unappeased demand of the British public for anniversary addresses. The meetings were less jubilant than usual because of a decrease in the income of the society, which causes a deficiency of almost $24,000. The missions of the society, which are numerous and widely separated, have had a prosperous year. Those in Europe—in France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy—are advancing slowly. The Ceylon mission, which is now more than seventy years old, has been extended during the year. The South Ceylon district has been divided into three districts; and in the Kandy district a region embracing eight hundred villages is now being evangelized for the first time. In India signs of an intellectual awakening are recognized. The society has six districts in India, and has directed that fifty new schools be opened in each district. Every-where there are increasing demands for education; and some of the Wesleyan high-schools will be raised to the rank of second-grade colleges, so as to admit students preparing for the intermediate university examinations. While the society is thus strengthening its educational forces, it is also giving increased attention to village evangelization, for which a band of trained native evangelists is being prepared. In

China the year has been one of reorganization and recuperation from the effects of the war. The chief point of interest within the bounds of the South African Affiliated Conference has been the opening of the Transkei territories, despite the engagements of the British government, to the traffic in intoxicants. All protests of missionaries and natives were unavailing to restrain the authorities from this wicked step. In South Central Africa, including the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Zululand, the society has twelve missionaries. Many new stations have been occupied, and many are ready for occupation. The society's important mission on the west coast is being extended, and the outposts are being pushed into the great interior, which is open now from the Gambia to the Niger. The other missions of the society are in Egypt, in Malta, at Gibraltar, in the Bahamas, in the West Indies, and in Central America. The general summary gives 290 central or principal stations in the various missions, 1,265 chapels and other preaching places, 302 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 1,710 other paid agents, 3,526 unpaid agents, 30,811 full members, 4,034 on probation, and 55,420 scholars.

The anniversary of the Baptist Society was not so enthusiastic as usual. At the Zenana Breakfast and at the more private meeting of the constituents of the society there was, however, a good deal of quiet, vigorous talk. The great meeting in Exeter Hall was not so impressive as it generally is. The hall was not crowded, the speeches were sensible but not rousing, and the audience attentive but not demonstrative. The chairman was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a son of the famous brewer and philanthropist, one of "the Clapham sect"—that knot of active evangelical Christians to whom Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, belonged. The chairman expressed his pleasure that the Baptist Society, like the Church Missionary Society, with which he was closely identified, could announce increased contributions, and this in spite of commercial depression. He also spoke sympathetically of the difficulties of the Baptist Society in the country of the Cameroons. While this territory, on the fatal west coast of Africa, belonged to England, the missionaries had gathered a church, built up a town which they called "Victoria," and diffused among the natives a considerable tincture of the arts of civilization. The territory has, however, been ceded to the Germans. And though there are clauses in the act of cession specially protecting the missionaries and their property, the German jealousy of the presence of Englishmen in their territories makes things so uncomfortable that the society is negotiating the transfer of the mission to some German society. The chairman said, if intelligent and Protestant Germans are so bad, our missionaries have only the worst to expect in those large territories which have been conceded to such ignorant and bigoted Catholic countries as Spain and Portugal. The Report, a *résumé* of which was presented to the meeting, is most interesting. It speaks of continuous and steady progress in the various mission fields. It believes to-day to be the missionary opportunity of the ages; and that it is to England, beyond any other nation, that facilities have been granted for bearing the Lamp of

Life into regions of darkness and death. To English Christians the question is, whether the opportunity will be their spiritual exaltation or ruin. Twenty-two missionaries had been accepted for service during the year. Two of these were ladies. One, a Miss Lila Y. Dawborn, who is sent to China, "is thankful to relieve the society from all pecuniary liability, her means enabling her entirely to support herself." This is an example worthy of being followed by ladies of independent property. Of these twenty-two missionaries, seven go to India, ten to the Congo, and five to China. The society mourns exceptionally heavy losses, both among its home supports and among the working foreign staff. Of these last four veterans, three men and one woman, and six recruits, four men and two women, have fallen. In India, the English Baptist Society has twenty-eight principal stations and one hundred and thirty sub-stations, scattered over Bengal, southern, western, and north-western India. The missionaries are sixty-three, and the native evangelists one hundred and nineteen. The literary work done in India is very considerable. About 80,000 copies of the gospels have been printed at the Mission press during the year. The preparation of the Sanskrit New Testament has been advanced some two hundred and forty pages. Tracts by many thousands have been printed. Grammars, and hymn-books for congregations and Sunday-schools in English and native meters, have been issued. One of these hymn books can be obtained for one *anna*, or three cents. A periodical called the "Khristiya Baudhab" is published monthly. In the palatial buildings at Serampore the Vernacular Theological Training Class reports thirty-two members added during the year. At Delhi the native Christian Training Class reports two members as qualified preachers of the first or highest grade, ten in the second grade, and eleven in the third or lowest grade. In Ceylon there are three principal stations and seventy-nine sub-stations, ministered to by four missionaries and twenty-one native evangelists. In China there are six principal stations and sixty-six sub-stations, confined to the provinces of Shansi and Shantung. The missionaries are eighteen, assisted by twenty native evangelists. In Japan the principal station is Tokio, around which are six sub-stations. Two missionaries and four native evangelists take charge of them. In Palestine there is also only one principal station, Nablous, and four sub-stations. One missionary devotes himself to preaching among the predatory Bedawin. In Central Africa seven principal stations are distributed along the Congo. Here the society has twenty agents at work. On the west coast of Africa there are five principal stations and twice that number of sub-stations. There are six missionaries and nine evangelists. In the West Indies there are eight principal stations and forty-nine sub-stations, nine missionaries and one hundred and forty-two native evangelists. The Baptist Union of Jamaica reports an annual increase of four hundred and fifty. In Norway fifteen missionaries are scattered through eighteen of the principal towns. In Brittany there are two principal stations and twenty-three sub-stations. The missionaries are three and the native evangelists nine. The society has eleven stations and eight sub-stations

scattered over the Italian promontory, embracing Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Genoa, and Naples. Mr. Wall is assisted by two other missionaries and by twelve native evangelists. The spirit in which this mission is conducted is well expressed in a few words from one of the missionaries: "We avoid mere controversy which draws crowds of people, but, so far as I have been able to discover, never *converts*. Our great aim is to preach Christ—to set Christ before the people and press his claims upon their hearts." The Mission Press is also energetically worked. About one hundred and twenty-six thousand gospels, tracts, and hymn books, etc., were issued during the year. Two papers are also maintained, "Il Testmonio," and an illustrated family paper called "Il Buon Genio." Thus the English Particular Baptist Mission—for the general Baptists have a mission of their own—supports about four hundred and eighty preachers, missionary and native, in some four hundred and sixty-five places, scattered over the continents of both the Old and New Worlds.

After the report came the Treasurer's statement, announcing that the income of the society was greater than it had ever previously been, amounting to £61,418, or about $308,000. Yet their expenditure had exceeded the income by some $10,000. This, however, Mr. Baynes expected soon to wipe out. A week afterward it was reduced by $3,500. Speeches then followed, the most notable of which was one by G. M. Rouse, of the literary department in India. He showed that only at the present rate of progress the complete Christianization of India might be expected in a century. No such progress, he contended, was accorded to truth in the first centuries of the Church. Dr. Landels, of Edinburgh, earnestly exhorted to self-denial for the mission cause. His venerable appearance and well-known sincerity gave great weight to his words.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE April number of the "Westminster Review" has a second part of the very remarkable examination of Goethe's Faust, which was begun in an earlier number. This review exhibits the fact that each generation finds in Faust an object of renewed and increasing interest, and the position of that poem is certainly assured as the greatest of all modern productions. There is also a review of the life of William Lloyd Garrison. It is highly laudatory and enthusiastic, scarcely taking account of the limitations of Mr. Garrison's character, while no more than just in its tribute to the services which he rendered to the liberty of the slave. To those who know the bitterness of which Mr. Garrison was capable, the following sentence will surely appear extravagant: "The earth . . . is sometimes relieved and brightened by the radiance of one of those incomparable men who actually live upon the same moral elevation which others only attain to in particular moments of emergency, or while

listening to the strains of music which utter the eternal harmony of truth. These are men who have been hallowed by the baptism of a divine pity for all human woe—as Gautama the Buddha, when he was awake beneath the tree in Bhodimandha, or Jesus the Christ in the garden of Gethsemane." Those who know how Mr. Garrison could hate as well as love will shudder a little as they read these sentences. There is also in this number a discussion of the fishery question and of its imperial importance based upon the messages of President Cleveland and upon certain Canadian documents. This article exhibits the immense importance of the fisheries to Canada, and their equal importance to us. There is also a review of Lieutenant Greely's "Farthest North," which is full of sympathy and of willing recognition of the scientific successes achieved. These are the only articles, with the exception of that on party government, which should long detain the American reader. This last is a strong defense of a government in which civil service, according to the American idea, should have larger influence in England than it has at the present time.

In the May number of the "Nineteenth Century," Matthew Arnold leads off in a paper entitled "The Nadir of Liberalism." It is thoroughly sympathetic toward Mr. Gladstone, while seeing also certain radical defects in his mental make-up and political methods. Richard A. Proctor, who writes wonderfully well for the quantity he produces, attempts to answer the question, "Whence come the comets?" Mr. Proctor seems to believe and teach that the comets are the progeny of the planets. It is somewhat startling, though plausible to read, that in 1872, and at sundry times since, the sun has been caught in the act of ejecting bodies, probably liquid or solid hydrogen atmosphere, around his globe with velocity so great that the matter thus expelled from his interior can never return to him, the velocities ranging to 450 miles per second at the least. The final answer to the question is this: Comets which visit our system from without were expelled millions of years ago from the interior of suns; comets which belong to our system were mostly expelled from the interior of a giant planet in the sun-like state, but in small portion may have been captured from without. Comets of whose past existence meteor streams tell us, were for the most part expelled from our earth herself when she was in the sun-like state; but some of the more important were expelled from the planets, and a few may have been expelled from suns. Percy M. Wallace has a very interesting account of Ignatius Donnelly's so-called Shakespeare's cipher, for which there is much more to say than appears upon the surface. The Rev. J. Murphy examines anew the case of Galileo, defending the Roman Catholic Church from the charge of persecuting him.

In the June number of the "Nineteenth Century" E. L. Godkin writes of American home rule, endeavoring to show what relation the government of the several States has to the General Government, and what can be gathered from this with regard to the solution of the question of home

rule in Ireland. This article is full of sympathy with Ireland and the methods and measures of Mr. Gladstone.

Thomas Sully, who is rapidly becoming the foremost writer upon certain psychological matters, has in this number a most admirable paper upon genius and precocity. This article is of itself worth the price of a year's subscription to the periodical.

Those who have lived to middle life without achieving fame may find encouragement in the fact that Dante, Milton, and Cervantes did not reach the impulse of poetic creation in their early life; George Eliot is a very remarkable instance of the imaginative faculty first revealing itself at a comparatively late period; and in the case of Defoe imaginative power had very late development. There are some very interesting tables given, which are believed to be roughly correct, with regard to the numbers in any calling who show distinct promise before the age of 20. Musicians, 19–20; artists, 8–9; scholars, 5–6; poets, novelists, men of science, 3–4; philosophers, 2–3. In order, however, to get a just idea of the relative proportions of the several classes they must be compared in respect of the date of the commencement of the productive period, and also of the age at which distinction is attained. If we take work before thirty as representing early production, we find the proportions in the different groups to be approximately as follows: musicians, 1–1; artists, 41–42; poets, 11–12; scientists, 4–5; scholars, 5–7; philosophers, 5–9; novelists, 9–16. Finally, with respect to the age of distinction we learn that the following proportions attain this result before 40: musicians are equal; poets and scientists are equal in the proportion of. 11–12; scholars, 9–10; novelists, 4–5; philosophers, 3–5. This last seems natural, as the meditative power is ordinarily an outcome or growth of later years. The conclusion from these tables is, that the order in respect of precocity answers roughly to the degree of abstractness of faculty employed. Musicians and artists represent sensuous faculty, or the least abstract mode of mental activity, while philosophers represent the highest degree of abstraction. Between these come the men of imagination, the poets and the novelists. It is admitted that genius is precocious in the sense of manifesting itself early; but there are several difficulties with regard to the question whether it soon attains the summit of its development, or whether it goes on improving as long as, or even longer than, ordinary intelligence. This much is true, that the early manifestation of genius is not incompatible with a prolonged and even late development. In proof of this such names as these may be mentioned; Haydn, Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Titian, Milton, Goethe, Voltaire, Gibbon, Lessing, Newton, Leibnitz, Buckley, Mill. It is Mr. Galton's view that eminent men surpass ordinary men not only in superiority from the first, but also in a more prolonged development.

Political economists will do well to read the article by Edward Albert Sassoon on "The Crusade against Silver." It is strongly in favor of bi-metalism. The Countess of Galloway, in her paper on "Women and Politics," concludes that precisely because of their differences from men

women's influence in politics, apart from their influence *through* men, may be of definite value, and would be increased in a right direction by giving the married as well as unmarried the franchise, and that it would not materially alter their essential standing. "The wider scope given to her faculties, and her deeper interest in human affairs, need not distract her nor lead her to desert her true mission in the world."

The "Contemporary Review" for June has a strong paper by R. W. Dale, the well-known Congregational English clergyman, on "The Exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament." He takes strong ground against this exclusion, while clearly recognizing the necessity for establishing subordinate provincial assemblies. Mr. Dale cannot understand the difficulties which Mr. Gladstone sets forth, of drawing a distinction between the presence of the Irish members at Westminister to vote on imperial concerns, while an Irish parliament gives its attention to the affairs of Ireland. It is evident from Mr. Dale's article that the Nonconformist sentiment was not in the recent contest with Mr. Gladstone. The Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart., writes of the "Expansion of the Church of England;" a paper of much interest, showing the perpetual round of difficulties in which Anglican Christianity is involved by the bands of the Establishment. It embodies a scheme for the admission of the Nonconformists to the Anglican Church. It suggests the abolition of subscription and the repeal of the Acts of Uniformity as certain to remove the injustice and the wrong of which Non-conformists still have to complain, though the carrying of these measures would not change the character of the Church of England. It is a very pretty dream which the author has, that with these changes the Wesleyan and other bodies might become a part of the English Church as Societies within that Church, following in this the great orders and companies of the Latin Church, and with these changes there would be no reason, the author adds, "why the president or any of the members of the Wesleyan Conference should not also be the incumbent of a benefice or the bishop of a diocese." We cannot share the author's hope that under such conditions dissent would fade away like fire without fuel There are some people left in the world who hold that Christian doctrine is something which can be ascertained, and that traditions cannot possibly be accepted, and there are many who, however much they may admire the high character and ability of those who call themselves Christian priests, yet feel bound in the interest of truth to make a protest against an idea of the priesthood which they believe to be thoroughly Jewish and therefore anti-Christian. The article is noteworthy for its Christian charity and for its intellectual breadth.

The "New Princeton Review" for July opens with "Recollections of Carlyle," with notes concerning his "Reminiscences," by Charles E. Norton. He gives an interesting sketch of Carlyle in his old age, showing how his feelings remained quick, keen, and intense, while his asperity and petu-

lance were softened, if not subdued. It is pleasant to read how the old hero, though childless, was still full of sweet thoughtfulness for children, and how his ways with them were most gentle and gracious. He strongly condemns Mr. Froude's indiscreet publication of the "Reminiscences," and his violation of the written injunctions. He appears to convict Mr. Froude of carelessness. Assistant Bishop Potter has a paper on the Sunday Question. While admitting that there is great force in the position of those who are resisting what they believe to be the beginning of encroachments destined not to give working-men more opportunities for culture and recreation, or more immunity from labor than they now possess, he also declares that these positions fail to attract the sympathy of those in whose behalf they are maintained, and that working-men as a body are not disposed to active co-operation with those who are undoubtedly their truest friends. As a remedy for this condition of things he suggests that a literature is needed suited to the wants of the working people, and in which the law of periodic rest shall be explained and defended, and, secondly, that practical and helpful sympathy shall be given them in order that they may not feel themselves isolated, and may be made more worthy of generous treatment. The bishop has some excellent words of rebuke for those Christians who do not permit Sunday to be in any part a rest day for their servants. We call attention to this striking sentence: "If to this end the congregations of all our great cities could be turned out of their comfortable sanctuaries for one Sunday and left to fight their way among those of whose lives and homes they at present know absolutely nothing, this, at least, would come to pass—that they would learn enough to set them thinking with unwonted earnestness." Henry W. Farnam, in writing of the Clergy and the Labor Question, declares that there is a great sympathy for working-men among the clergy of our country. H. W. Conn has a very valuable paper upon "The Origin of Life," in which he admits that the complicated movements of protoplasm are intelligible as the result of chemical change whereby the density of the substance is altered, and consequently its shape, but all this fails to reach the question at issue, which regards the directive cause of these changes. The only direct argument would be to manufacture protoplasm and have it begin to assimilate food, or to show in some other way that a purely automatic machine is a possibility which shall, as organisms do, supply itself with its own conditions of activity. Until this is done, the mechanical theory can be only an inference from the general tendency of scientific advance. Behind all must be posited something which the scientist calls Law, which Spencer calls the Unknowable, but which the theist calls God.

The June number of "The New Englander" discusses the difficult question of "Moral Education in Prisons." C. A. Collin writes sympathetically and intelligently on this topic. A. C. Dunham unfolds the organization of the Knights of Labor so far as is permitted by the rules of the order. According to this writer, the Knight is first called upon to fight

monopoly, meaning, in the programme of the Knights, an over-accumulation of wealth in a few hands. The private politics of the Knights are not to be meddled with; no more interest-bearing securities shall be issued by any civic or state government; the government shall purchase and manage all the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines in the country; these shall be paid for by the issue of paper money made legal tender; any deficiency in the ways and means of government should be supplied by the issue of legal tender paper, none of which shall bear interest. Mr. Dunham's conclusion is, that whatever fine words may be said about the belief of the Knights in capital, the organization surely means war against capital.

We do not find ourselves convinced by Mr. Leacock's argument to prove the organization of the Reformed Episcopal Church a necessity. Every reform for which this body separated itself from the parent Church had been accomplished a hundred years before by the Methodist Episcopal Church. If the Methodist Episcopal Church was in the habit of using Wesley's Prayer Book in its Sunday services, the Reformed Episcopal Church would have no standing ground at all.

The July number of "The New Englander" has a very interesting history of the development of educational opportunities for women in the English Universities, exhibiting the fact that England is really in advance of America in this regard. Those who are fond of literary studies will greatly enjoy Dr. Samuel W. Duffield's biographical sketch of Hermann, a forgotten genius of the eleventh century. A thoughtful study of Emerson by W. Salter makes of him a Christian idealist. The article does full justice to Emerson's exalted character, and quotes Mr. Alcott as authority for the dictum that Emerson is to be taken by the hand among all Christians as a brother. The true explanation of Mr. Emerson's career lies in the fact that his Christian education and environment led him to a line of conduct from which some parts of his philosophy would have exempted him.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theism and Evolution. By Joseph S. Van Dyke. New York: Armstrong & Son.

This work has an introduction by Dr. A. A. Hodge; and both he and Dr. Van Dyke agree in declaring that there is a conception of evolution which is compatible with both Theism and Christianity. It is to be regretted that the outlines of this allowable evolution are nowhere drawn, so that the reader may easily distinguish friend from foe. The work is properly a polemic against Atheism and Materialism as they appear to-day. It has always appeared to us that this debate is conducted nowadays with so little knowledge of underlying metaphysical and logical principles that

the one who makes the attack is sure to win the day. The battle resolves itself into a series of skirmishes by which nothing is decided. We are inclined to find the same fault with Dr. Van Dyke's work. The insufficiency of atheistic and materialistic logic is triumphantly shown; and if any one has not learned this already he would do well to read this work. The skirmishing is vigorous and masterly; but one has the feeling at the end that nothing is positively decided. The evil spirit is driven out; but there is no sufficient provision against his coming back. The value of the work is mainly negative. As an exposure of the extravagance and loose logic of anti-theistic theorists it deserves high commendation.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series, Vol. XXV. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, Professor at the University of Giessen. Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and the Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Volume III. 8vo, pp. 386. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The first and second volumes of this work were noticed somewhat at length in our issue for March, 1886, to which the reader is referred for our general estimate of its character. The present volume is devoted almost exclusively to the literature of the Jews for that period, both biblical and general. The section on "The Palatinean-Jewish Literature," treats of its "Historiography," its "Psalmodic Literature," its "Gnomic Wisdom" (Jesus Sirach and Pirké Aboth), its "Hortatory Narrative" (Fiction), Pseudepigrapha and Sacred Legends, and Magic and Spells. The section on "The Greco-Jewish Literature," beginning with the Septuagint, and extending through a great body of works, well-known by name but very little read, ends with Philo, and a discussion of his works and his doctrine. The whole book is rich in just the kind of information that a thorough student of the New Testament has need of, shedding, as it does, a flood of clear light upon many points that have been esteemed either obscure or insoluble, sometimes, indeed, reversing accepted interpretations. We may here repeat and emphasize what we said in our notice of the earlier volumes, that without some acquaintance with the things here taught the reading of the New Testament must fail to lead to any clear conception of what it declares.

Biblical Essays; or, Exegetical Studies in the Books of Job and Jonah, Ezekiel's Prophecy of Gog and Magog, St. Peter's "Spirits in Prison," and the Key to the Apocalypse. By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin. 12mo, pp. 255. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The species of writing to which these "Studies" belong often has both a special charm and a high value with all who are addicted to rational but reverent free thinking on biblical subjects. Those found in this volume are designed for general readers rather than professional students; and yet some good degree of scholarship may be needed for their proper appreciation. They are able and earnest, conservative and yet distinctively free—weighty and yet vivacious—in a word, *clever*.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Plato and Paul; or, Philosophy and Christianity. An Examination of the Two Fundamental Forces of Cosmic and Human History, with their Contents, Methods, Functions, Relations, and Results Compared. By J. W. MENDENHALL, Ph.D., D.D., Author of "Echoes from Palestine," etc. Imperial 8vo, pp. 777. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

This is a remarkable book. Its magnitude, as a single treatise, the wide range of its topics, the copiousness of its matter, the elaborateness of its discussions, the richness of its quotations and references, its fertility of suggestions, and the manifest labor and painstaking used in its preparation, all these things together present it to us as a marvelous production. Its size—seven hundred and seventy-seven pages, each of nearly five hundred words—equals about two fifths of our English Bible of the Old and New Testaments, and would require, for its reading, if gone over carefully at the rate of fifty pages a day, and giving to it five days in a week, three weeks and two days. In these hurrying times that is a very long time to devote to a single volume. The range of topics—all, somehow, connected with the subject in hand—is simply of cyclopedian fullness; and while none of them can be objected to as entirely irrelevant, the case suggests the desirableness of a faculty for judicious exclusion, as a qualification for the complete book-maker.

With the steadiness of purpose of an Alexander going forth to subdue the nations of the earth in detail, and with the courage of a Hercules who shrunk from no required task, the writer passes from theme to theme, leaving no subject till it has been subjected to a thorough and exhaustive consideration, and then going quietly to the next to subject it to a similar completeness of examination. The range of literature laid under contribution, with the evident mastery of all that is used, is also marvelous, rendering probable, without other proof, that the seven years said to have been devoted to its incubation were most diligently employed. And though the range of the work is so very wide, and the discussions so comprehensive, still its suggestions of matters beyond what it covers in the discussions seem to indicate that the writer has given us only the smaller part of what came within the range of his mental vision. But although he could travel so widely without weariness, and wrestle with such vast subjects simply for the love of the exercise, he should have known that very few of even the most stalwart students could follow him in his wide excursion without weariness and probable failure.

As a specimen of book-making, we are compelled to speak of the production as faulty through excess. It has matter sufficient for three or four distinct treatises; and a division and distribution of its contents into that number of independent works could have been made without any violent separation of related parts. The nearly twenty chapters relating to Plato and Paul would, after removing from them certain matters that belong more fittingly to what follows, have made a fair-sized volume, with the advantage of complete unity of subject and design. Then, what

is written on the subject of the relations between Philosophy and Christianity, though somewhat diffused and mingled with other matters, if separated from all else and presented by itself, would have constituted a compilation sufficiently large for a volume, with one entirely definite, ruling idea. The discussions respecting some things, partly *of* and partly *about* Christianity (see Chapters XXVI to XXXI inclusive), are certainly clever and valuable, quite as much for what is suggested as for what is said, but these might have been omitted.

Discussions of this kind are helpful to those who can use them advantageously, without being positively harmful to any others. It is not needful, in order to profit by them, that one should agree with the opinions expressed and defended; but instead, the free discussion of a fancy or allusion may often prove the most fruitful as a provocative to productive thinking. To many things advanced in these chapters we should certainly refuse our assent, and yet we have read them with pleasure and to edification. A book full of such speculations—and a pretty full one might be excerpted from our author's capacious *collectanea*—would prove both curious and useful.

The evident design of the work, as a whole, appears to be to show the unity of Philosophy and Christianity, not, however, as independent coordinates, but as contained and container. It seeks to show the philosophic character of Christianity, and its capability of becoming completely harmonized with the findings of the human intellect properly enlightened and guided. The assertion and proof and illustration of that thought constitute the thread that runs through the entire production, though large parts of the work are only remotely related to that thought, and contribute nothing to its support. But while recognizing the ability and the reverent tone of the book, we still wholly dissent from its final conclusion, holding, as we do, in harmony with a celebrated philosopher, whose deference to Christianity was more formal than real, that our holy religion rests upon faith rather than reason; and that the highest office possible to philosophy in its relations to revealed religion is to serve in the outer courts, not presuming to enter its holy places, even with unsandaled feet, and especially to turn away its inquiring gaze from the unapproachable holy of holies of the divine mysteries.

In the production of this marvelous work the author has abundantly justified his claim to a place among the most widely read of the men of our times, in the related subjects of Philosophy and Christianity, and as having put to practical use the results of his broad and fruitful studies. Setting out to show the essential unity of Philosophy in its highest forms with Christianity, in which, according to our conception, he is wholly in the wrong, he seems to have made the most of an inconclusive argument; and so if he has failed in his main design, as we surely think he has, he has nevertheless shown his ability by the cleverness of the performance, executed in such great disadvantage. And yet while rendering such praise as justly due to the performance as a whole, exceptions must be made in respect to some of the lines of argumentation, as for example

that which calls "Christianity a Geometrical Ideal," which thought is definitely propounded and elaborated through successive pages. To our conception the application of mathematical "ideals" to things spiritual is simply "unthinkable," like predicating shape of sounds, or color of conceptions. And still, with all its drawbacks, the work we are noticing is no ordinary production, and altogether worthy of being looked into and read *by installments*. And whoever reads it thoughtfully and understandingly will learn something to his advantage. And as to the author, we would say that one who can write such a book will be likely also to do more and probably better work in the future.

[After the above was in type, the following analysis of the work under notice came to hand, which is also inserted, as presenting another view of the subject taken from another point of observation.—ED. *Meth. Rev.*]

The above is the title of a portly volume, whose magnitude will greatly tend to limit the number of its readers. It is not often that a work of such dimensions, on so grave a topic, is launched on the sea of thought; and how a Methodist preacher and presiding elder found time for the reading and study necessary in its preparation is a marvel. We may welcome a discussion of this great theme whether or not we can accept all the conclusions reached.

The literary style of the book is good, many passages being very impressive, and some rising to the height of real eloquence. The author has a good command of philosophical terminology, although the faults peculiar to philosophical books are, of course, not altogether wanting. It may be fairly suspected that many of the pet terms of philosophy are invented and used for no better purpose than to cover up the absence of clear thought. There are as few literary inaccuracies as could reasonably be hoped for in so large a volume; and for some of those that occur the printer is undoubtedly responsible. An occasional grammatical error may be observed, the adverb and pronoun, as usual, maintaining their pre-eminence as the special stumbling-blocks of generally accurate writers. We find the following: "And as *professed* [ly] inspired documents; and again, "Speak even *friendly* of his work" (p. 425). The dictionaries forbid us any longer to use "friendly" as an adverb. The treacherous nature of the pronoun is shown in the following phrases: "Neither ancient nor modern philosophy fixed *their* point of departure from the great Center," (p. 114); "Neither Judaism is reduced to system, nor Christianity, in the Book that reveals *it*" (p. 441). A few phrases for which we have a special dislike occur quite frequently; for example: "*In* so far as;" "so far *forth* as;" and the unsatisfactory apology, "so to speak."

The author gives his book a double name. Plato and Paul are first discussed—Plato as the representative of Philosophy and Paul of Christianity. Two lengthy chapters of more than fifty pages each are given to these celebrated characters; but while the monographs are valuable, they do not materially advance the discussion of the real question which is the subject of the volume.

Philosophy and Christianity are under review; and the author enters a field that has not been well explored. Books on the relations of science to Christianity are as abundant and parti-colored as the leaves of autumn; but unquestionably the relations of Philosophy to Christianity are more fundamental and important. Few men are brave enough to enter on such an investigation, and few are competent to do so with any advantage to mankind. The outline of the book calls for a full survey of Philosophy and Christianity, and a comparison of the two great systems. The general plan is to first discuss Philosophy, then Christianity, and finally to institute a comparison; although, necessarily, the work of comparison appears somewhat throughout the entire discussion.

A consideration of "The Province of Philosophy" leads to the following outline, under which the system is treated: "The initial fact of philosophy is—*Nature.* The intermediate term of philosophy is—*Man.* The ultimate word of philosophy is—*God*" (p. 127). All questions relating to these three topics philosophy must answer. Matter is first considered, and three conclusions reached: 1. Nature is the embodiment of the principle of unity. 2. Respecting its origin, nature is proof of the necessity of a Creator. 3. The substance, the spirit, of matter is the law by which it exists. Nature is law in form; nature cannot exist without law, but the law may exist without nature. Hence nature may perish and the law remain. The substance, the spirit, is immortal; the form, or nature, is mortal. As law is immortal, so God, from whom it came, is immortal (p. 142). In this third proposition, and elsewhere in the volume, the author puts himself in line with the philosophy of Lotze, which has been expounded so ably by Professor Bowne.

In discussing "The Grounds of Life," the author analyzes all the theories, and looks with greater favor upon "biogenesis" than any thing else that philosophy has propounded, at the same time regarding creation as the only explanation of life. Respecting the origin of soul-life, Traducianism is rejected in favor of Creationism.

From the origin of life he proceeds to that of "Man; or, Anthropology." Philosophy must answer questions respecting the origin, character, antiquity, and destiny of man. Darwin's theory of "descent" is discussed and rejected; the mechanical and transcendental theories meet the same fate; while the teleological theory is accepted. In character man is an intellectual and moral being in a physical frame-work. His antiquity science has not conclusively shown to be greater than the Mosaic account makes it. Respecting the destiny of man, the theory that develops him merely as an animal, or develops him out of existence, is rejected with scorn. A higher development theory is anticipated which will mark the eternal up-building of man in the direction of his Maker.

In considering the questions relating to Metaphysics, the author reaches the conclusion that the mind is a unit, and that faculties are merely terms to aid our thought. The indivisible mind is capable of distinct kinds of acts, which are manifested through material organs; and in the acts of which it is capable we must ultimately read its secret.

One of the most elaborate chapters in the book is that on "The Area of Human Knowledge." Agnosticism every-where receives a cordial and merited drubbing. The sources of knowledge are intuition, sensation, spontaneous and reflective reason, and revelation. Dr. Mendenhall recognizes the limitations of knowledge, but considers them a kind of movable fence which Philosophy may push farther and farther on as its explorations advance. He is dissatisfied with existing methods of acquiring knowledge, and anticipates new developments, suggesting that we must study the powers of the mind itself as a guide in discovering improved methods.

Following the discussion of man, topics relating to God are considered. Modern science is magnifying "force;" and the terms "persistence of force" and "correlation and conservation of forces" are coming into common use. This is all in the right direction, and points to a future acceptance of the doctrine of the unity of all forces in a personal God. Science may not be aiming at this, but by its investigations is making any other theory impossible. Three chapters are given to a discussion of the various phases of Causality, and the author concludes that philosophy has failed to reach a first Cause. This paves the way for the final chapter, devoted exclusively to philosophy, which bears the sad title "The Break down of Philosophy." This "Break-down" is exhibited in its failure to find God, in its account of civilization, in its conception of government and education, in its theory of life and the origin of the universe, in its metaphysics, in the basis of its ethics, and in its failure to point out the secret of happiness. Before reaching this sweeping conclusion the author places on the witness-stand the philosophers of ancient and modern times, and endeavors to measure the results reached by all systems.

Having discussed the categories of Philosophy, Dr. Mendenhall gives to Christianity a similar treatment to determine its contents and value. The "religious concept" is declared to be universal; and the field of inquiry is regarded, as (1) nature, and (2) the supernatural or spiritual universe. Christianity is limited in both departments by its prevailing purpose, and by the short-comings of the human mind. Revelation brings to men only necessary spiritual truths, which are classified as, (1) theistic, (2) governmental, (3) anthropological, (4) soteriological, (5) eschatological (p. 417). Christianity is regarded as the key to the phenomenal world, and the argument of Butler's Analogy is viewed with special favor. Nature is a vast simile of Christianity. Drummond's theory that natural and spiritual laws are identical is discussed and regarded with complacency. This converts analogy into identity, and changes the nature of the argument.

The author's views on "The Theodicy of Christianity" will be found to differ quite materially from those currently held by theologians, and each reader will judge for himself whether the discussion leaves this difficult question any murkier than it was before. In considering the relations of Christianity to the social life of man, eight different ideas are

noted which have been looked to as the basis of human society, namely, the ecclesiastical, the political, the philosophical, the scientific, the socialistic, the pagan, the Mohammedan, and finally the Christian. The last is his conception of the ideal state, in the realization of which individual rights, education, industrialism, ethics, a republican form of government, and a free church must enter. The "perfection of man" is regarded as "the ideal of Christianity;" and the "fruits" already ripened and yet to be anticipated, as a result of the general acceptance of Christianity, are a new civilization, Christian government, material activity, intellectual quickening, popular education, Christian art and architecture, reformatory movements, the Christian home, the brotherhood of man, popular enthusiasm for morality, benevolent agencies, and world evangelization.

"The New in Christianity" is discussed, and the opinion ventured that the work of Christ, the character and purposes of God, atonement, regeneration, resurrection, may all receive a clearer elucidation. In the treatment of "Eschatology," the discussion runs mainly along the beaten track of orthodoxy. The immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, the post-millennial coming of Christ, the final judgment, the existence of heaven and hell, are all recognized. The idea of a second probation is discarded, and the resurrection is to be of the spiritual and not the natural body. Two chapters are devoted to a consideration of the "power" of Christianity, in which the leading features of the system are emphasized. Its peculiar power to awaken enthusiasm is found in some of its doctrines, especially monotheism, atonement, and the future life, and in the unique personality of Christ. Under the title "The Pseudodox in Christianity" the author discusses the claim that Christianity is a system of falsehood, and reaches the conclusion that there is no falsehood in the Bible, though he cannot say as much of any particular system of Christian religion; and he lashes with severity the human elements that have crept into the older Christian Churches, and the differences that separate the various bodies of Protestantism. The last of the chapters devoted exclusively to Christianity treats of "Experience the Philosophic Test of Religion," and the claim is made that the sinfulness of human nature, regeneration, atonement, holiness, Messiahship, immortality, and resurrection, are all categories of experience.

Four concluding chapters are largely devoted to a discussion of the relations of Philosophy to Christianity, and a forecast of the future. Philosophy and Christianity have reached, or will reach, common ground at the following points: 1. Each must submit to the fullest possible investigation. 2. Each must fight Agnosticism as the deadly foe of both. 3. Another common ground is some form of Idealism. 4. Philosophy and Christianity are nearly at one on the question of natural evil. 5. Respecting the history of man, they can stand on common facts, although reaching different conclusions. 6. He further finds common grounds in teleology, but admits that Materialism denies the doctrine. 7. He sees indications that they are coming to a common ethical platform.

Our author proclaims a truce in the following terms: "Religion is nec-

essary to Philosophy. . . . Philosophy is necessary to Religion. . . . Philosophy is Christianity; Christianity is Philosophy." And he has bright anticipations for the future. His final conclusions are stated in the following passages: "We affirm, first, that *Christianity is a philosophic finality, or the finality of all philosophic truth.* . . . In itself, it will prove to be the true philosophy of all truth, without assuming a philosophic form, or usurping the prerogatives of philosophy as a distinct realm of thought and investigation" (p. 726). "If Christianity is the end of truth, it must also be the end of Philosophy; hence, Philosophy must finally be absorbed by Christianity. If ultimate truth absorbs all related or intermediate truth, and the highest truth includes the lowest, then philosophical truth at last must be lost in the broader truth of Christianity, which is the same as saying that *Christianity is the final philosophy.* As such we proclaim it. Final in its truths, it must be final as a philosophy of truth" (p. 732). Christians will not object to this conclusion—the philosophers are yet to be heard from.

But Christianity is more than the final philosophy: "As Christianity is the final Philosophy, so it is the *final Religion.* It is not only the supreme religion, it is the only supernatural religion, and therefore the only religion. All others in their sober contents are mere adumbrations, reflections, or imitations, to be fulfilled, and therefore to be lost, in that which shall endure forever" (p. 732). His ultimate verdict is, that Christianity, more perfectly wrought out, is to be the Philosophy as wellas the Religion of the future.

HENRY GRAHAM.

Psychology: The Cognitive Powers. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," etc. 12mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Metaphysical studies are not to be valued in the ratio of the number of those who are really devoted to their pursuit; but rather at an inverse ratio, which method would rate them among the first. To the mass of mankind the metaphysician is a wizard who walks in a charmed circle, into which only those of his kind can come. It is further noticeable that the select few who there walk together are not always averse to controversy among themselves. No doubt Dr. McCosh is himself a chief among these magicians, with whom the lesser lights of his art should not unnecessarily provoke a conflict. As one of the uninitiated in such mysteries, we have inclined to accept him as an authority, and our cursory examination of this, his last published volume, has not at all lowered our estimate of his powers.

Speculations: Solar Heat, Gravitation, and Sun Spots. 12mo, pp. 304. By J. H. KEDZIE. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Nothing is less certainly understood than the ultimate principles of physical phenomena. We know something of the latest results, but only as facts; of their origin and methods of becoming we know almost absolutely nothing. This state of the case allows room for speculations, and the construction of hypotheses, which may be a not wholly useless employ-

ment, since such exercise may lead to the increase of valuable knowledge. In this spirit this book seems to have been written, and though nothing is really demonstrated, still some facts are set in a clear light, and not a few curious and perhaps useful, certainly thought-provoking, suggestions are given. With something of the dogmatic assertiveness that characterizes scientists as a class, the writer is on the whole good-tempered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Labor Problem. Plain Questions and Practical Answers. Edited by WILLIAM E. BARNES. With an Introduction by RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., and Special Contributions by JAMES A. WATERWORTH and FRED. WOODROW. 18mo, pp. 330. New York: Harper & Brothers.

If the last words on the Labor Question have not been uttered, there seems to be a prospect that some progress is being made in that direction, and very many persons in all the lines of active life appear to be disposed to contribute a part to the current discussions. All this is well; for although very much that is crude, and partial, and one sided is offered, yet the whole together contributes to the better understanding of an important and practically valuable theme for discussion. The Essays here given are neither better nor worse than hundreds of others; still the reading of them will do good.

The Jewish Altar. An Inquiry into the Spirit and Intent of the Expiatory Offerings of the Mosaic Rituals, with Special Reference to their Typical Character. By JOHN LEIGHTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The changes wrought by modern scholarship in the conception of the relations of the Old Testament to the Gospel, have largely antiquated the accepted text-books of half a century ago, and have introduced new methods for studying and interpreting the prophecies. The questions that cluster about the subject of typology are at once difficult and curious—attractive by their half-disclosed mysteries, and distracting by the incompleteness of the inference suggested by them. The author of this volume professes to have discovered the faultiness of nearly all former theories on the subject, and at the same time to have found out the key to all the mysteries of the subject. Though he writes with great force and learnedly, it must still be confessed that he has rather overtasked himself in attempting to read out all Messianic references from the service of the Jewish altar.

The Story of Music and Musicians. For Young Readers. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 245. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The title given above very well indicates the purpose and character of the book. It has a good many of the best qualities of a history of music, yet so told that it may be readily understood by others than professionals, and in a style so simple and abounding in illustration that its perusal becomes a recreation rather than a labor.

The Early Schools of Methodism. By A. W. CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., Wellsville, N. Y. Crown 8vo, pp. 432. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Our Methodist fathers made history, but left the writing of it to their successors, unmindful alike of the historical value of their work and of the impossibility for any others than themselves giving the history of what they actually performed. To gather up the drifting fragments of information that still survive in the form of personal recollections, often now in second and third hands, or in imperfect documents, written or printed, is the work here undertaken, to rescue some account of these things from the oblivion to which they are so rapidly hastening. The endeavor has been aptly compared to that of the hunter who seeks his quarry at noonday when the game has retired to its hiding-place and the dew by which the trail may be followed has exhaled. Among such conditions the work now before us has been prosecuted.

From the beginning American Methodism became the patron of education, and engaged in the work of founding institutions of learning. At first its efforts were beyond its ability, and pecuniary failure was the result in not a few early enterprises. Then followed a period of inaction, to give place in due time to renewed activity, which continues to the present. Dr. Cummings, by reason of his connection with that work in various parts of the country, became interested in those earlier educational movements, and has collected a large amount of information respecting them. He has also been induced to continue his researches, and to extend it to the early history of the later academies of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and now he gives to the public the results of his well-directed diligence in the volume named above. As a literary composition it is altogether creditable; but it is chiefly valuable for the service rendered in tracing an important department of church work whose history has heretofore been rather strangely neglected. We congratulate all concerned, in view of the completion of such a work, by which the author has achieved an important undertaking, and has made not only the Methodist Church, but the whole American people, his debtors.

Aristocracy in England. By ADAM BADEAU, Author of "Military History of Ulysses S. Grant," etc. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers.

General Badeau, during his long and intimate connection with the American diplomatic service in England, enjoyed peculiar facilities for gaining the information which he details in this little volume. It is essentially descriptive, giving a plain and unvarnished account of the composition of English society, which is probably the most complicated, as well as the most senseless, in the world. The writer proposes only to relate facts, without condemning or approving; and certainly without attempting to point out their philosophy. But as facts, they enter largely into all social and political questions in the United Kingdom, and for that reason they should be studied. This work is, therefore, no less practically useful than curious and entertaining.

Men of Renown. Character Sketches of Men Distinguished as Patriots, Statesmen, Writers, Reformers, Merchants, etc. By DANIEL WISE, D.D., Author of "Uncrowned Kings," etc. 12mo, pp. 295. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Wise drives a facile and a fruitful pen; and though he has outlived the first generation of his readers, he is no less heartily appreciated by their successors, and all who read his books will be benefited by them. The "Men of Renown" sketched in this volume are Abraham Lincoln, John Quincy Adams, Amos and Abbott Lawrence, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Rev. Sydney Smith, Charles James Fox, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, Desiderius Erasmus, and Geoffrey Chaucer, each of whom is also designated by a *sobriquet* to indicate his recognized character and place in history. These sketches are preceded by a chapter of "Introductory Words to Young Men," which is designed to serve as a practical application of the lessons taught by these "lives of great men." It is altogether a valuable and attractive book, as to both its matter and its dress.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidence, Biblical Elucidation. Third Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 71 Bible House.

This volume is simply the six numbers of the "Christian Thought" for the year 1885–86, from July to May. The articles are of a high order of excellence, and altogether worthy of the permanent form in which they here appear.

The American Salmon Fisherman. By HENRY P. WELLS, Author of "Fly-rods and Fly-tackle. Illustrated. Large 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Bros.

Directions where salmon may be found, and how they may be taken—a book for sportsmen, by one of that ilk.

The Transfiguration of Christ. By FRANK WAKELEY GUNSALUS. 18mo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

A collection of eight sermons or meditations, having the account of the Transfiguration for a common point of starting or reference. They are well written, devout after their method, mystical, and fanciful. They may be read as a kind of dreamy heart exercise, but they will not add much to the reader's practical religious thought. The mechanical work, like all that comes from its publishers, is excellent.

German Grammar and Reader ("Deutsches Sprach and Lesebuch"). Herman B. Boisen's "First Course in German." Revised and Enlarged. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. Third Corrected Edition. 12mo, pp. 240.

German Grammar and Reader (Second Part: Narrative Style of Language), On the Inductive Plan, for Higher American Institutions of Learning. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. 12mo, pp. 143. Boston Carl Schoenhof. New York: F. W. Christern. Chicago: Gustaf Hinstorff.

Books for beginners, on the plan of first learning the language, and after that studying its etymology and syntax; well arranged and beautifully printed.

King Arthur. Not a Love Story. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. 18mo, pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers.

New Tabernacle Sermons. By T. DEWITT TALMAGE, D.D., Author of "Crumbs Swept Up," etc. Delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Publication Authorized. 12mo, pp. 410. New York: E. B. Treat (office of Pulpit Treasury).

Some thirty sermons from the platform of the Brooklyn Tabernacle, able, forceful, and distinctively characteristic.

Rolf House. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature from Chaucer to Cowper," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A story of American life, chiefly of boys and girls.

Bolinbroke: A Historical Study; and Voltaire in England. By JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is made up of two magazine articles—the first from the "Quarterly Review," and the second from the "Cornhill Magazine." They are well written, learned, and suggestive.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—72. *The Evil Genius.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—73. *The Absentee.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.—74. *If Love be Love.* By D. CECIL GIBBS.—75. *French and German Socialism.* By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D.—76. *King Arthur.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman."—77. *The Head Station.* By MRS. CAMPRELL-PRAED.—78. *Army Society.* By J. S. WINTER. Illustrated.—79. *Pluck.* By J. S. WINTER.—80. *Her Own Doing.* By W. E. NORRIS.—81. *Cynic Fortune.* By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY.—82. *Effie Ogilvie.* By MRS. OLIPHANT.—83. *Alton Locke.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—521*a*. *War and Peace.* By *Count Leon Tolstoi.* Part III. Conclusion.—522. *Demos.* A Story of English Socialism.—523. *Trust Me.* By Mrs. JOHN KENT SPENDER.—524. *England's Supremacy.* By J. S JEANS.—525. *A Stern Chase.* By MRS. CASHEL HOEY.—526. *The Russian Storm-Cloud.* By STEPNIAK.—527. *Killed in the Open.* By MRS. EDWARD KENNARD.—528. *Marjorie.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID.—529. *In the Old Palazzo.* By GERTRUDE FORDE.—530. *The Crack of Doom.* By WILLIAM MINTO.—531. *The Heir of the Ages.* By JAMES PAYN. Illustrated.—532. *Buried Diamonds.* By SARAH TYTLER.—533. *A Faire Damzell.* By ESMÈ STUART.

PAMPHLETS.

Labor and Capital Are One. By ELLIOT SHEPARD. 8vo, pp. 38. New York. 1886.

Murder and the Death Penalty. By W. H. THOMPSON, Woodward Avenue, Detroit. 8vo, pp. 67. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A defense of capital punishment for murder.

Various Views of the Atonement. By Rev. LEWIS MEREDITH. Introduction by Bishop W. X. NINDE. 18mo, pp. 46. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

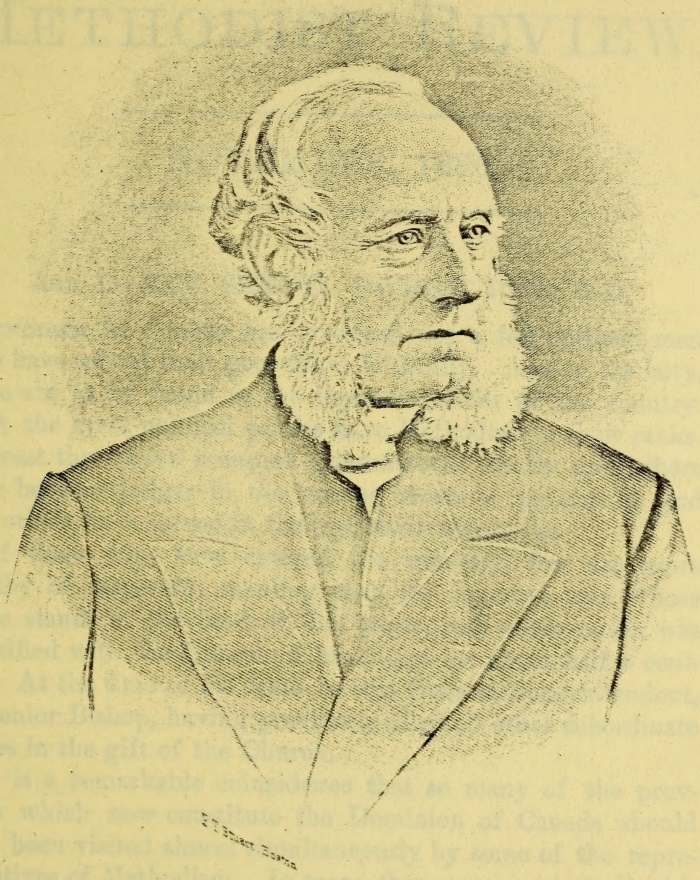
Methodism and the Missionary Problem. By Rev. C. S. EBY, D.D., F.T.L. (A Lecture before Victoria College.) 12mo, pp. 56. Toronto: William Briggs.

Shall the Loyal be Deserted and the Disloyal Set Over Them? An Appeal to Liberals and Non-conformists. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. [Against "Home Rule."] 8vo, pp. 67. London: Demrose & Sons.

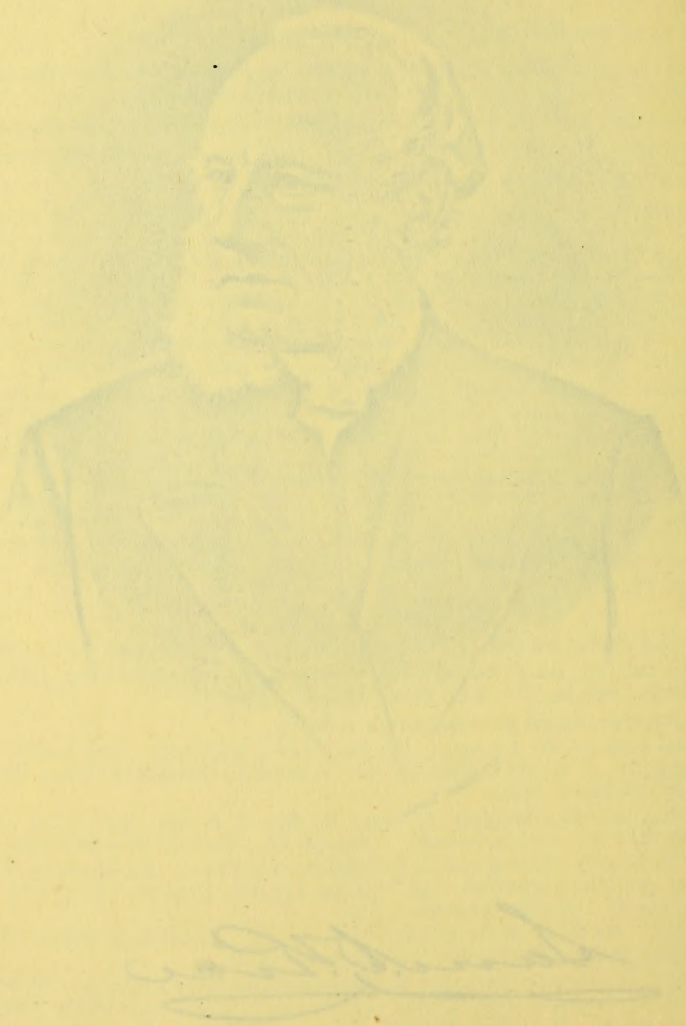
The Bible. By H. W. BENNETT, D.D. 18mo, pp. 15. Published by Order of the McLean County (Ill.) Bible Society, Bloomington, Ill.

The Value of American Citizenship, as Related to the Education of Women. By Rev. HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D., LL.D. (Dedication of Albert Leo College, Minn.) 12mo, pp. 20. H. G. Day, Printer.

Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education. (No. 5, 1885.) Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities. 8vo, pp. 183. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.



Samuel D. Rice



METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1886.

ART. I.—REV. SAMUEL DWIGHT RICE, D.D.

METHODISM in Canada has produced not a few eminent men who have served their generation faithfully. Among the laity, some are to be found in the legislative halls of the country. Both the great political parties have Methodists in their ranks. At least three have occupied gubernatorial chairs, and others have become judges in the various courts of judicature, and still others have served in the legislative assemblies.

Of those who have entered the ministry, few are more worthy of respectful mention than the honored man whose name stands at the head of this paper, and whose career was identified with the Church of his choice for about half a century. At the time of his death he was General Superintendent, or Senior Bishop, having previously filled all other subordinate offices in the gift of the Church.

It is a remarkable coincidence that so many of the provinces which now constitute the Dominion of Canada should have been visited almost simultaneously by some of the representatives of Methodism. In more than one province British soldiers were the first to unfurl the banner of Methodism, so that while they were loyal to their country they were also loyal to their religious convictions and to the King of kings. Newfoundland, whose territory is embraced in one of the Conferences of the Methodist Church, was one of the first Methodist missions ever established. The missionary was Laurence Coughlan, who, like Strawbridge and Embury, the founders of Methodism on the American continent, was an Irishman,

many of which nationality have done valiantly for the Church of John Wesley in various parts of the world. He landed in Newfoundland in 1765, a year previous to that in which Embury commenced to preach in New York, and was soon convinced that there was great need of missionary labor. His efforts were greatly owned of God. He afterward became connected with the Episcopal Church. Several local preachers, chiefly from Ireland, settled in this old colony, and established Methodist services, and in 1785 a missionary named John McGeary was sent out by Mr. Wesley, since which time Methodism has been a powerful factor in molding the character of the people. The mission was cared for by Dr. Coke, the father of Wesleyan missions.

In 1790 William Losee, of precious memory, commenced his labors as a Methodist missionary in the Bay of Quinte County, then of Upper Canada, now a portion of the Province of Ontario. He was sent forth by the New York Conference, and labored a few years, and then returned to the United States. Darius Dunham was the first presiding elder of the Canada District, and received his appointment as such in 1794.

A few years before Mr. Losee's visit to Canada, the Rev. William Black, often known as "Bishop" Black, was converted in Nova Scotia, under the labors of some earnest local preachers from Yorkshire, England, who had settled in that province. He soon became a successful evangelist, and extended his labors to all the maritime provinces. He was present at the Christmas Conference of 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. At his earnest request Bishop Coke appointed Freeborn Garrettson to accompany him on his return to Nova Scotia, where his apostolical labors were greatly owned of God. Other ministers were also sent from the United States to labor in this and in other parts of British America.

It will thus be seen that there has always been an intimate relationship between Methodism in the United States and in Canada. The latter owes its existence, to a very large extent, to the Methodist Episcopal Church [of America]. A goodly number of ministers, who were princes in Israel, were sent by the parent to nurse and train its offspring in the northern part of the continent. Among these may be named: Thomas Whitehead, Hezekiah C. Wooster, James Coleman, Joseph Sawyer,

Samuel Merwin, Nathan Bangs, Thomas Madden, William Case, Samuel Luckey, Israel Chamberlain, John Dempster, Fitch Reed, and many others.

Samuel Dwight Rice, D.D., whose career we wish to portray, took an active part in effecting the changes which occurred in Methodism during the last half-century. His name is conspicuous in various departments of Church work, and some of the most important institutions which are now the glory of the denomination may be regarded as monuments of his faithfulness and indomitable perseverance.

He belonged to a distinguished class of men—the old-time Puritans—who came from Hertfordshire, England, in 1640, and settled near Boston, Massachusetts. The Rices are still among the largest, most prosperous, and respectable families in New England, and have attained fame in the pulpit, the press, the world of commerce, and in the political arena. An illustration of this fact may be found in the person of Alexander Rice, Esq., ex-Congressman and ex-Governor of Massachusetts. In 1812 his parents removed from New England to what was then "the howling wilderness" of New Brunswick. His father belonged to the medical profession, and the family consisted of two sons and two daughters. One of the former was Samuel Dwight, who was born in 1815, in the Province of Maine. His education was received at Bowdoin College, where he and his brother were fellow-students with the poet Longfellow.

After his return home, on account of the impairment of his health during his collegiate term, he spent two years in commercial pursuits in Woodstock and Frederickton. In 1834, when he was not quite nineteen years of age, he became the subject of converting grace, and, as he has often been heard to express himself respecting that memorable event in his history, he was filled with joy, and for several days he experienced such an exuberance of delight as he never felt in the pleasures of sin.

In 1837 he was received as a probationer for the Wesleyan ministry. It may be stated in this connection, that from the commencement of Methodism in the Eastern provinces of Canada until 1804, a considerable number of ministers from the United States had labored there, but in that year they were withdrawn, and Methodism in those provinces, including New-

foundland and Bermuda, were attached to the Wesleyan Conference in England, and were known as missionary districts until 1855, when they were organized into a separate Conference under the cognomen of "The Conference of Eastern British America," in affiliation with the English Conference.

The first appointment of the subject of our paper was in the lumbering region of Miramichi, which might truly be designated a "Hard-scrabble circuit." The writer of his obituary, Rev. W. S. Blackstock, published in the Minutes of Toronto Conference, has well remarked respecting this period of his life, that

> he performed heroic service for the Master, and had the happiness of seeing much fruit of his labors. Being of an ardent temperament, an adventurous disposition, and an indomitable will, he gloried in facing and overcoming difficulties in the presence of which men cast in a less heroic mold would have failed.

His next station was Sydney, Cape Breton, and, though it is a place somewhat famous in history, it was purely mission ground when Mr. Rice labored there. Thus it will be seen that the commencement of his itinerancy was not in the most inviting fields of ministerial toil, but where there was an abundance of hard work, the performance of which required great self-denial and true devotedness; but he gained much experience, which was of immense service to him during the whole of his subsequent life.

His next appointment was to the city of St. John, New Brunswick. While here he spent six happy years, and assisted in organizing the educational institutions at Sackville, which are a noble monument to their founder, C. F. Allison, Esq., by whose liberality they have been so nobly sustained, and a credit to the Methodist people of the maritime provinces. A considerable number of persons of both sexes, some of whom now fill important positions in various parts of the world, were educated at this seat of learning. Mr. Rice's stay in St. John completed his term of labor in that part of Canada, where he had won for himself a good degree, and in no part of the Dominion is his memory more revered than in the province in which he spent the early years of his ministry.

The history of Methodism in Upper Canada from 1791, when the first class was formed, until the period in Mr. Rice's

history at which we have now arrived, was crowded with such events as tried the faith of many. The war which prevailed between Great Britain and the United States in 1812–15 excited much controversy. Violent attacks were made upon the character of the Methodist ministers. Their loyalty to the government of the country was questioned: they were represented as aliens who were seeking to spread republican principles among the people, with a view eventually to secure the annexation of Canada to the United States, whereas but few of their number were American citizens. The majority of them were natives of Canada, and were therefore British subjects, and some of them had even fought on behalf of the country whose institutions it was said they wished to overthrow. Baser calumnies and more wicked misrepresentations were never before published.

A family of brothers of the name of Ryerson had become connected with Methodism, of whom there were at one time four in the ministry; three of them died in the work, the other located after traveling a few years. The youngest member of this illustrious family was a comparative youth, in the novitiate of his ministry, when the Church of his choice was thus ruthlessly assailed by one who claimed to be a successor of the apostles. Young Ryerson, like another youthful David, with simple but effective weapons went forth to meet the ecclesiastical Goliath. For prudential reasons Mr. Ryerson withheld his name, and merely signed his letters by the term "A Methodist Preacher." This first controversial publication of Egerton Ryerson made a profound impression upon the community, and gave evidence of the superior ability of the author, which was frequently corroborated by the later productions of his powerful pen.

During some portions of the period to which we now refer, there had been occasional dissensions in Methodist circles on various matters. Some professed to be dissatisfied with the Discipline of the Church, and the administration of its chief officers, though the majority were agreed that Methodism in Canada had been well cared for by the constituted authorities of the Church. In 1811 Bishop Asbury visited a portion of the country, with which he was greatly delighted. The Genesee Conference, which was formed in 1810, held its session of

1817 at Elizabethtown, Upper Canada, at which Bishop George presided. This was the first Methodist Conference held in Canada, and under the sermon of the Bishop such was the manifestation of spiritual power that hundreds were converted, and to this day that Conference is often spoken of as the "Revival Conference."

The war of 1812 had greatly disorganized the societies both in Upper and Lower Canada. The latter is now known as the Province of Quebec, of which Nathan Bangs was presiding elder. He also was minister in charge at Montreal, and had the honor of forming the first Methodist society in the city of Quebec. The presiding elder, and some of those under his care, returned to the United States, hoping to return when peace should be proclaimed, but the war was more protracted than had been anticipated, and as the societies became dissatisfied for want of the ministrations of the word, application was made to the British Conference for missionaries to be sent to them. In a short time there were rival altars in close proximity to each other, from which the usual fruits of contention and strife followed. Methodist emigrants from England, who had settled in different parts of Canada, naturally preferred ministers from their own country, rather than those against whom all manner of evil was spoken.

Thus matters progressed until 1820, when the Rev. John Early, afterward Bishop Early of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was sent to the English Conference as delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a view, if possible, so to adjust Church affairs in Canada that there should not be more than one body of Methodists established in the country. Arrangements were made for the British missionaries to occupy Lower Canada, and the Methodist Episcopal Church Upper Canada as their field of operations. This plan was faithfully carried out for the period of twelve years.

There were still those in Canada who were clamoring for a Conference of their own. The General Conference of 1824 formed a Canadian Conference, the first session of which was held at Hallowell, now Picton, in that year. Bishops George and Hedding presided. The Conference consisted of *thirty-five* ministers and preachers, with six thousand one hundred and fifty members. The demand of those who were dissatis-

fied with being connected with the United States was now for independence or separation. Rev. Henry Ryan, grandfather of Bishop Fowler, who was for many years presiding elder and a most zealous and successful missionary, was one of the most earnest advocates that the Methodist Church in Canada should assume an independent form. He was assured that the approaching General Conference would allow the societies in Canada to withdraw if they saw fit to do so. This, however, Mr. Ryan did not believe, and therefore in 1827 he withdrew from the Church which he had done so much to build up, and commenced an independent organization, which he designated the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, but the party was for many years known as the "Ryanites."

This was an unfortunate step on the part of Mr. Ryan, as probably there was then no man in Canada to whom Methodism was so much indebted. He was an earnest, powerful man, capable of almost any amount of endurance; and his labors were herculean. He was once the colleague of Bishop Hedding, when that devoted man was a circuit minister. They occasionally met each other when they were performing their respective routes on their extensive circuits, and usually Ryan would salute his brother thus: "Drive on, brother, drive on! Drive the devil out of the country! Drive him into the lake and drown him!" Sometimes at camp-meetings rude fellows of the baser sort would attempt to make disturbance; on such occasions, if Mr. Ryan was present, he would seize the disturbers and fling them over the high fence with which it was customary in those days to inclose the grounds in front of the preachers' stand. He was as bold as a lion, but yet was possessed of a kind, tender heart, and could weep like a child when surrounded by scenes of sorrow; at once "a son of thunder," and "a son of consolation."

In 1828 Methodism in Upper Canada was set apart, with the assent of the General Conference, into an independent organization, known as the "Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada." By a most singular coincidence three ministers who were successively chosen to act as bishop declined; hence, while episcopacy was adopted as the mode of government, there was no *episcopos;* but the Rev. William Case acted as general superintendent *pro tem.*, but with limited powers.

Mr. Case was a gift from Methodism in the United States to that of Canada. He had long been a presiding elder, and was the "father of Indian Missions," and probably no Methodist ministers in British America was more widely known or had a better reputation. He was sometimes designated "the beloved disciple," so meek was his deportment. He lived to see the Church in Canada become a powerful organization, and was permitted to preach a jubilee sermon, in which he related many interesting reminiscences. His remains were interred at the Indian mission burying-ground at Rice Lake, where he had labored for many years. Near the same spot the remains of John Sunday, who was a native Indian missionary, also repose, and a monument was erected a few years ago to the memory of the father and his beloved son in the Gospel, the expense of which was mostly defrayed by the ministers of the Conference of which they had both been members.

In 1832 an event occurred which seriously affected Methodism in Canada. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in England sent out one of its secretaries, the Rev. Robert Alder, afterward Dr. Alder, with a view to establish Wesleyan societies in such places as were not favored with Methodist ordinances. The Wesleyan authorities took the ground that as Methodism in Canada was no longer connected with the United States they were free from the agreement into which they had entered twelve years before, not to establish societies in Canada.

The visit of Dr. Alder was not regarded as favorable to Methodism in Canada, and as the Conference was soon to meet in Picton, he was invited to attend, to see if some arrangement could be made to prevent two bodies of Methodists being established in the country. The result was, that articles of union were agreed upon, and in 1833 an amalgamation was made with the Wesleyan Conference in England. The name and usages of the English Conference were adopted. The principal alterations related to the change of name; to the annual election of a president of Conference instead of a bishop; to the abolition of the ordination of local preachers; and to the suppression of the office of deacon. The office of presiding elder was also abolished, and in its place was instituted that of chairman of district, who was to be appointed to a pastoral charge, by which the salary was to be paid.

The union with the English Conference gave great offense to many in Canada; hence, in 1834, soon after the first Conference under the new regime was held, a new organization was formed which retained the name, "Methodist Episcopal Church." For some years after this period the Methodist societies were greatly divided, and, to say the least, some who were the chief actors in both the parties into which the Church was unhappily divided both wrote and said bitter things concerning each other. The country also was greatly agitated on public questions. The union, no doubt, strengthened the Church financially, as the Parent Society gave large grants in aid of the missions in Canada.

This union only continued until 1840, as the Parent Society disapproved of the course adopted by the editor of the "Christian Guardian" on the Clergy Reserves, which for many years was a burning question in Canada. For the next seven years the Methodist Church was divided into three separate bodies, greatly to its injury. Happily, in 1847, a union was again effected on the part of the Canada and the British Wesleyans, which affiliation with the Wesleyan Conference in England remained strong and compact until 1874, when it was dissolved by mutual agreement.

The union of 1847 was the occasion of the Rev. S. D. Rice becoming connected with Methodism in Western or Upper Canada. The British Conference appointed the Rev. Enoch Wood (now Dr. Wood) its representative in Canada, and also general superintendent of the missions. This venerable minister has become an octogenarian, and still survives, though "in age and feebleness extreme," having been sixty years in the Methodist ministry. He commenced his labors in the West Indies, whence he removed to New Brunswick, where he labored twenty years, and then removed, as before stated, to Upper Canada. His whole career has been connected with Methodist missions. He has occupied the presidential chair of Conference ten times, and for more than thirty years was missionary secretary, and for most of that time he was general superintendent of missions. Since 1879 he has been honorary secretary. Under his presidency the Church was greatly strengthened. The Lower Canada District was attached to the Canada Conference, and a new mission was established in

British Columbia. It is believed that he has dedicated more churches than any other minister in Canada; and when the infirmities of age compelled him to ask for a superannuated relation, the Methodist Church had become the largest Protestant denomination in Canada.

Dr. Wood requested that Mr. Rice should accompany him to his new field of toil, which request was granted. Mr. Rice's first appointment was in the city of Toronto, which eventually was the place of his death. His rich, evangelical preaching, his diligent pastoral visitation, and his faithful, judicious administration of discipline were well adapted to the state of affairs which he found in the chief city of the extensive province which for so many years was to be his field of labor. A great revival took place, which gave a grand impetus to all the departments of Church work.

He soon became a prominent member of Conference, and took his full share of all its duties and responsibilities. For one year he had charge of the Indian Industrial School at Munsey, from which he was removed to Kingston, and under his superintendence Sydenham Street church was erected, an achievement that only few persons could have accomplished. Here, also, he was chairman of the district, which added greatly to his labors; but he was then in the vigor of his manhood, and shrank from no labor, however much danger and self-denial it might involve.

The next four years were perhaps the most laborious of his life. They were spent in connection with Victoria University. He traveled thousands of miles, and was truly "in season and out of season." His desire was to place that noble seat of learning on such a sound financial basis as would insure its future prosperity. His sanguine expectations were not fully realized, but his interest in collegiate institutions never abated, and probably no man in Methodism ever gave so much ill-requited toil on behalf of higher education in Canada as Dr. Rice. During one of those years he was also secretary of Conference.

We next find him in the city of Hamilton, where he resided more than twenty years. For three years he was in the pastorate, and labored with all his wonted zeal. However well adapted he was for business, he was never happier than when

preaching the Gospel; and had it not been for an affection of the throat, he would not so readily have turned aside and served tables. Hamilton was the scene of a glorious revival, which resulted in a large accession to the membership of the Church. For three years he was financial secretary of the district, after which he sustained a superannuated relation for two years.

He was not, however, by any means a retired minister, for he now commenced an undertaking for which he will be longest and best remembered—the establishing of the Female College in that city. The institution was opened in 1861. A college for ladies was a new idea in that day, and like all new ideas had to stem the tide of popular prejudice; but, having once put his hand to the plow, he did not look back, and therefore he enjoys the honor of having established the first female college in Canada, of which it has been said, that it

> has sent out more than two hundred graduates, who have completed the full course of study, and several hundreds more who for a shorter period have enjoyed its literary advantages. Its graduates and ex-students are found in all parts of this broad land, adorning with the graces of Christian culture the social circle, lending the charm of their influence to the cause of religion, teaching in higher institutions of learning, and some of them sharing the trials and triumphs of missionary life.*

During the time he was thus identified with the Female College, the Senate of Victoria University conferred on him the degree of D.D., an honor which he richly deserved. He was a good theologian, especially of the Wesleyan school. The works of Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, Benson, and Watson had been carefully studied, and he was ever ready to defend those standards, which in his opinion have not been surpassed by any others of modern times.

Dr. Rice always took deep interest in all the affairs of the Church, and when in Conference he was ever ready to take part in the discussions which arose. In person he was tall and commanding; he had a strong, ringing voice, which could be heard in every part of the room; and he was able to state his views in a clear style, so that he generally carried his points; but, if he should happen to be in the minority, he was always manly, and would never manifest a spirit of opposition that

* Rev. Dr. Withrow, editor of "Methodist Magazine."

was not fair and candid. His brethren, even such as might not always agree with him, esteemed him very highly, and showed their confidence in his integrity by placing him in positions of trust.

In the year 1872 he was co-delegate of the Conference, and in consequence of the Rev. W. L. Thornton, M.A., the president for that year, returning to England immediately after the Conference, the duties of presidency devolved upon him. In 1873–74 he was elected president. The latter was a memorable season, as it was the final session of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada.

For some years there had been a growing disposition on the part of many to reduce the number of branches of the Methodist Church. The various bodies of Presbyterians had united and become a compact and powerful organization, and the question was frequently asked, "Why cannot the Methodists become one body?" In addition to the Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal branches of Methodism, there were also the "New Connection," which had absorbed the societies formed by the Rev. Henry Ryan, previously named the Primitive Methodists, and "Bible Christians," all of which took their rise in England. In addition to these, there was a Wesleyan Conference in eastern British America.

With a view, if possible, to form a united body of Methodists, several meetings were held, and the conditions of union were generally accepted by all parties; but, when the first General Conference was held, only three bodies could be brought together, namely, the Wesleyan Conferences of Canada, that of eastern British America, and the New Connection. Six Annual Conferences were formed, with one General Conference to meet once in four years. The name agreed upon was that of "The Methodist Church of Canada." The first General Conference was held in 1874, of which the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D., was elected president, which office he sustained for four years, as an acknowledgment of the esteem of his brethren for the onerous services which he had rendered the Church during his eventful life. The hope was indulged that the branches of Methodism which did not now amalgamate would soon do so. They manifested a kindly disposition by sending fraternal delegates to the General Conference.

In effecting the amalgamation which produced the Methodist Church of Canada, Dr. Rice took an active part, and at the second General Conference, of which the Rev. Dr. Douglas was president, he was elected vice-president, and at the General Conference of 1882 he was elected president, with a request that he would travel at large throughout the Connection. He was abundant in labors during this year, not only in the pulpit and on the platform, but also at committee meetings, of which there was an unusual number during the year of his presidency.

We must here break the thread of our narrative to state that in 1878 Dr. Rice returned to the active work of the ministry, and was stationed at St. Mary's, and though he was exhibiting the marks of age, he was the same earnest, faithful expounder of God's word, for which he had been so remarkable during all his previous history. A new church was erected in the town, which was said to be "a model of neatness, utility, and cheapness."

To the surprise of many, in the year 1880 Dr. Rice went to the North-west and settled in Winnepeg, where he was also chairman of the district. During his residence there the city was in a state of intense excitement, which was called "the boom." Property of all descriptions rose to the most fabulous prices, and every body was in "haste to be rich." There was such a state of things as only few had ever witnessed. Such seasons of inflated prosperity are seldom favorable to spiritual growth, though they may sometimes be turned to good account. Dr. Rice understood the position of affairs, and sought to take advantage of them for the benefit of the Church. One has well said:

> During his three years in Winnepeg great changes occurred. Grace Church was turned into a block of stores; the *rink* was fitted up as a temporary place of worship; another block of stores was built; and the large hall, the second "Wesley Hall," used as a church by the congregation of Grace Church. Bannantyne Street church was built, and the present new Grace Church commenced. As the city grew greatly in these years, so did the Methodist congregations; and as did the congregations, so did the places for the people to worship in.

Dr. Rice's position as chairman of the district in Manitoba imposed some onerous duties upon him. The following in-

cident may serve to illustrate the earnestness of his spirit, and the ready manner in which he could suit himself to circumstances in order to promote the interests of the Church. In the month of June, 1881, accompanied by the Rev. John Semmons, and several ladies and gentlemen, he left Winnepeg by steamer for Fisher River, 200 miles distant. The Rev. A. W. Ross was then stationed there, and a new church was greatly needed. On the arrival of the party, a site was selected, and then the work of hewing and squaring timber, digging post-holes, drawing sand and lime, laying the floor, and building the walls was proceeded with. The Indians of the place worked well. The ministers toiled as though the success of the undertaking depended on their diligence; the merchant busied himself as though he was not out for a holiday; and the architect wrought at the bench as though he was not on the sick list. Even the ladies were as busy as bees, and Dr. Rice had the pleasure of seeing the church, 22x50, built, plastered, and opened for divine worship. Of all present it might truly be said, "The people had a mind to work," though they were subjected to a great amount of suffering and bodily torture from the swarms of mosquitoes, which bestowed special attention upon them.

The season was one of great enjoyment to the mission family, and the Indians in the settlement who had never seen such a "bee" before. The members of the party from Winnepeg were delighted with their excursion, and the religious services which were held morning and evening of each day were refreshing seasons coming from the presence of the Lord, while those of the Sabbath were specially edifying, as from 6 o'clock A. M. until the evening the voice of prayer and praise was heard almost continually. The friends from Winnepeg, accompanied by their beloved pastor, returned home after an absence of four weeks, having spent the period of their absence in a manner on which they will always reflect with pleasure.

September, 1881, will ever be memorable in the annals of Methodism. It was then that the First Ecumenical Methodist Conference was held in the Methodist cathedral, City Road Chapel, London, England. Representatives from all branches of Methodism in Canada were present, and evidently caught the union spirit, for the majority of them returned home as though

they were all of one heart and mind. All the Annual Conferences passed resolutions favorable to union if a proper basis could be secured. By a remarkable coincidence the General Conferences of the Methodist and the Methodist Episcopal Churches met in the year 1882 in the same city, and a united committee from all branches of the Church met soon afterward, and after several days' careful deliberation a Basis of Union was adopted, which was submitted to all the quarterly meetings of the respective denominations, and was adopted by large majorities; next the Annual Conferences, with one exception, indorsed the Basis with slight modification, which was also accepted by the adjourned General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, though, as might have been expected, there were some dissentients who conscientiously opposed the Basis.

Immediately after the last named General Conference closed its sessions, the first United General Conference was held, consisting of representatives from the four branches of Methodism, which had hitherto been largely antagonistic to each other. Now they were brought together and could love as brethren. The Rev. John A. Williams, D.D., had the honor of presiding at this first United General Conference, which by a most remarkable coincidence was held in the vicinity where, years before, some of the divisions of Methodism had occurred, and not far from the spot where William Losee had laid the foundations of Methodism in Canada.

Dr. Rice took the deepest possible interest in the subject of Methodist unification. He once remarked to the present writer that his life had been most remarkably mixed up with union movements. As before intimated, his coming to Upper Canada in 1847 was occasioned by a Methodist Union. As president of Conference in 1873 he presided at the meetings of the United Committee which formulated the Basis of Union which led to the organization of the Methodist Church of Canada. He presided at the last General Conference of the said body, and officially announced the fact that there was a majority of votes in favor of union.

The Basis of Union provided for the office of general superintendent, the election of laymen jointly with ministers to all the Conferences and committees, except the Stationing Com-

mittee. Each Annual Conference was to elect its own president, who presides alternately with the general superintendent. Both take part in the ordination services, and jointly sign the parchments. Should a general superintendent not be present at the Annual Conference, the president performs all the duties of the office. As far as possible, the names of offices and usages of the various branches who now constitute The Methodist Church were adopted. The following statistics will show the strength of the Church at the United General Conference: Ministers and probationers, including 241 superannuated and supernumerary, 1,633; members, 169,803; churches, 3,159; parsonages, 877; estimated value, $9,130,807; Sunday-schools, 2,707; teachers, 22,434; scholars, 175,052—18,530 of whom meet in class; colleges and schools, 12; professors and teachers, 185; graduates, 1,925; students, 6,948. There are two publishing houses, one at Toronto and one at Halifax; two papers are published weekly; a monthly magazine is issued; and also eight Sunday-school periodicals.

The Methodist Church of Canada dates its organic existence from June 1, 1884; and, though it cannot be said that there has been universal harmony during that period, still, the friends of the Church have cause for thankfulness that the Union has worked with so little friction. Doubtless, several who were Methodists before the union are now found in the bosom of the Presbyterian and other Churches, while, perhaps, some are not connected with any Church; still, the gratifying fact must remain that the returns made at the ten Annual Conferences of 1885 showed an aggregate increase of more than 20,000 members.

The election of general superintendents necessarily excited great interest at the first General Conference of the United Church. The Rev. Drs. Rice and Carman were chosen for the important office, the former as the senior. Since the death of Dr. Rice many have been led to think that he had a presentiment that his end was near, for he entreated the General Conference to make some provision in case he or his beloved colleague should be removed by death. The majority of the Conference, however, thought that in the event of such a calamity the special committee would be competent to act in the emergency.

After the General Conference both general superintendents labored incessantly, especially in missionary and educational services. It was a season of anxiety to the United Church. There were places where conflicting opinions prevailed respecting the places of worship that should be no longer retained, and other perplexing matters required adjustment. As the superintendents were general advisers as well as the expounders of law, they were often appealed to as to what was best to be done with the grievances which had arisen.

Dr. Rice was too willing to labor when he should have taken rest; the consequence was, that during the winter of 1883–84, while traveling on behalf of the Educational Society, he took a severe cold, from the effects of which he never rallied. He attended some of the Annual Conferences of 1884—the first of the United Church—and at the Toronto Conference he delivered an address chiefly in the interests of the Educational and the Superannuation Funds, which caused many to weep, as it was evident that the shadows of the sepulcher were then upon him: and if he had known that he would never meet his brethren again in a Methodist Conference he could not have addressed them in a more appropriate manner, especially when he referred to the subject of entire sanctification, and urged the ministers to be sure and preach and enjoy this great Gospel privilege.

The few remaining months of his life were a season of intense suffering, which was endured with great fortitude. Such was his hopefulness of spirit, and so great was his strength of will that he could not be persuaded that death was so near. No murmur fell from his lips, though his pain was often most excruciating. Happily, all the members of his family arrived in time to receive his last counsel and witness his dissolution, which was calm and peaceful. He departed this life Monday, December 15, 1884, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the forty-eighth of his ministry.

The funeral service was held in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, after which the remains were interred in Mount Pleasant Cemetery.

Art. II.—THE EPISCOPACY OF METHODISM.

In the "Methodist Review" of March, 1885, there appeared an article entitled "The Doctrine of the Fathers," in which we presented the views of the "fathers" in reference to the episcopacy of Methodism from the time immediately prior to the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1784, until the death of Bishop Asbury, in 1816, a space of about thirty-two years, thus embracing the period covered by one generation. It was there attempted to prove that while the Church viewed the eldership as a ministerial order, it looked upon the episcopacy as an office in the ministry to be filled by one who, in ministerial order, should be a presbyter or elder.

This is shown by the fact that Wesley, the recognized head of American as well as British Methodism, declared, in his Circular Letter of 1784, that "bishops and presbyters are the same order;" and Bishop Coke, who was set apart by Wesley, and received as the first superintendent of the new Church, said in 1808, twenty-four years after the organization of the Church, that they were "one and the same" order.

Bishop Asbury, also, acknowledged the same thing in 1800, sixteen years after the organization of the Church and his entrance upon the duties of general superintendent or bishop, when he proposed to resign his "official station," as it was termed by the Conference and understood by himself, and to take his seat on the floor as an elder, just as if he had never filled the "official station" of a general superintendent. The action of the Conference in this instance, and at various other times, shows that the ministers understood they were not dealing with a clerical order but with an executive office.

Then, as though to prevent any one ever being misled by the service used in setting apart the bishops, John Dickins, who took part in the organization of the Church, and who was the first person in America to whom Dr. Coke revealed his plans, clearly taught, in 1792, that this service possessed no virtue, as it gave nothing to him who was set apart, and, hence, was merely a dignified, impressive, and fitting formality. The whole history of this early period shows that the Church of

that day understood that the difference between the bishop and an ordinary presbyter was not one of clerical order.

Now, taking up the line of historical investigation, we purpose to seek the view held by the leading preachers, in the period following the death of Bishop Asbury, as indicated by their writings and by Conference action.

Bishop Asbury died in the month of March, 1816. One month later the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, at the request of the Philadelphia Conference, preached a sermon on the death of Asbury, and the same Conference subsequently requested the publication of the discourse. The sermon, with an appendix, was published in 1819, as an 18mo volume of 230 pages. In this discourse he says, The Methodist societies, in organizing the new Church, resolved "to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church;" * and in the appendix he calls the Methodist episcopacy a "presbyterial episcopacy," and maintains that bishops and presbyters or elders are "the same order." † We thus start out in this second period of the Church's history with the very declaration which the Church at its beginning had received through Wesley's letter.

In a short time agitations concerning questions of polity greatly increased. The discussions referred mainly to lay representation, but it also involved the episcopacy of the denomination, and the controversy called out strong writers. In 1820, the year following the publication of Cooper on Asbury, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, D.D., published his work on "Methodist Episcopacy." In this he used language which created the suspicion that he meant to imply that the bishops had a distinct order above that of the elders. That his phraseology did not represent the voice of the Church, and that he was applying the word order in a new and objectionable sense, is evident from the fact that his phrases were promptly objected to, and he was attacked so vigorously for even appearing to teach that which the Church had never taught, that at last he found it necessary, in defending himself, to write and print a letter explaining his language.

In this letter, which was published in 1827, in the appendix to Emory's "Defense of Our Fathers," Dr. Bangs complained that he had been misunderstood, and explained that in his use

* Cooper on Asbury, p. 109. † *Ibid.*, p. 215.

of the word order, in that connection, he gave it a special definition. He says:

I use the word *order* merely for convenience, to avoid circumlocution, meaning thereby *nothing more* than that they were invested, by consent of the eldership, with a power to preside over the flock of Christ, and to discharge other duties not so convenient for the presbyters to discharge.

This definition, of course, makes the bishopric simply an office with delegated executive powers, and Bangs takes the force out of the word *order* in this connection when he says that he used it in a qualified sense, and "merely for convenience, to avoid circumlocution," and that he means this, and "*nothing more.*" Again, he states that he means that our bishops were like those ministers in the early Christian Church who were "denominated *evangelists*," which certainly is not a very high-church notion. And again, in this letter, he says:

If any choose to say that we acknowledge two *orders only*, and a superior minister possessing a delegated jurisdiction, chiefly of an executive character, he has my full consent.

So Dr. Bangs gives his "full consent" to the declaration that "we acknowledge two *orders only;*" and also, that a bishop is merely "a superior minister possessing a delegated jurisdiction, chiefly of an executive character," and the logical inference from this is, that he held that the bishop was an executive officer, and that the bishopric was an office and not a clerical order above the eldership. We should not overlook the fact that in the above quotations from Dr. Bangs's letter, the italics "*orders*," "two *orders only*," and "*nothing more*," are his own.

That he considered bishops and presbyters to be the same order is manifest from other declarations which he makes. Thus he says:

That those denominated bishops, elders, or presbyters in the apostolical writings were one and the same order of men we will now endeavor to demonstrate.*

Again, in his "Original Church of Christ," published in 1836, and which has been a text-book in the course of ministerial study, Dr. Bangs says:

The terms bishop, presbyter, and elder signified, in the primitive Church, the same order of ministers. . . . There was, how-

* Bangs's "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy," p. 19.

ever, as it appears, this difference: the term bishop was *a title of office,* signifying overseer, and the word presbyter referred to the order.

That he held the bishopric of our Church to be an office and not an order is seen also in the fact that in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," published in 1840, Dr. Bangs speaks of the episcopacy as an office;* and, further, from the fact that during the great discussion in the General Conference of 1844, he constantly spoke of "the *office* of bishop," and the "high *office* of a general superintendent," and refers to the bishop as "a general *officer* of the Church."†

In 1827, seven years after the appearance of Bangs's "Methodist Episcopacy," the Rev. John Emory, D.D., published "A Defense of Our Fathers, and of the Original Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church." At first sight there seems a little confusion in some of his phrases, but a careful reading, and a just comparison of his statements, show that the context fully qualifies his apparently unusual expressions. His object is to maintain the validity of the episcopate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he insists that there is nothing improper in having a service for setting apart bishops "even on the principle of two orders," for, "in this respect," he says, "both Mr. Wesley's usage and ours exactly correspond with that of the primitive Church, according to Lord King," who "maintains that bishops and presbyters in the primitive Church were the same order."‡

But Emory shows just how little weight he put upon the service for setting apart bishops, by his indorsement of a quotation from John Dickins's pamphlet of 1792, in which Dickins declared "the superiority of the bishops" was not "by virtue of a separate ordination;"§ and Emory himself refers to the superiority of our bishops as derived not from their 'separate ordination.'"‖ Emory, therefore, following Dickins and Wesley, puts no stress upon the service; and, as the separate service conferred no superiority, the bishop received through it no order distinct from and superior to the eldership.

Dr. Emory is meeting the allegation that because Methodism

* Bangs's History, vol. iii, pp. 60, 78.

† "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," p. 98.

‡ "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 64. § *Ibid.*, p. 110. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

has no order higher than the eldership it has not a true episcopal form of government. This inference he denies, and says:

> We have abundantly proved, according to ecclesiastical writers of the most distinguished celebrity, that an episcopal form of government is perfectly consistent with the admission that bishops and presbyters were primarily and inherently the same order. And we have especially proved that this was Mr. Wesley's view in particular.*

Again he says:

> The idea that *equals* cannot from among themselves constitute an officer who, *as an officer*, shall be superior to any of those by whom he was constituted, is contradicted by all experience and history, both civil and ecclesiastical, and equally so by common sense. †

All this refers to the episcopacy of our Church, and Emory calls the bishop an *officer*, and those who elected him his *equals*. That this is his meaning is seen a little further on, where, referring to Bishops Coke and Asbury, he says:

> These church officers, after they were thus constituted and commissioned, *were* superior, *as our officers*, in the actual exercise of certain executive powers among us, to any individual of those by whom they were constituted. ‡

In 1830, Dr. Emory quotes Mr. McCaine as claiming that Mr. Wesley believed "that bishops and presbyters are essentially of one order." To this Emory replied: "And do we dispute this? Have we not repeatedly averred the same thing with the utmost explicitness?" §

Again he declares:

> The Methodist Episcopal Church not only admits, but asserts and maintains, and always has done so, that bishops and presbyters are inherently and essentially the same. Its episcopacy was originally and avowedly instituted, and still rests, on this very principle. . . . In the strict ecclesiastical sense, they are inherently and essentially the same order. ‖

One year later, namely, in 1831, Dr. Emory edited and added notes to the "First American Official Edition" of Watson's Life of Wesley. In these notes, referring to Wesley's setting apart of Coke as superintendent, he declares that even after that

* "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 60. † *Ibid.*, p. 64. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
§ "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," 1830, p. 81. ‖ *Ibid*, p. 85.

service, "according to Mr. Wesley's own view, he could not be higher *in order* than a presbyter." *

The issue as to whether the bishopric was an order or an office was soon squarely made, and just as squarely met. In 1828, the year after Emory's "Defense" appeared, Thomas E. Bond, M.D., wrote his "Narrative and Defense of the Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore City Station," and in 1852 this was reissued as a part of Bond's "Economy of Methodism." The author refers to the charge that Asbury had used language which implied that he thought he was "a bishop of the third order, and superior to presbyters." †

And to this Dr. Bond replies:

> As to the charge of our having at any time considered our bishops as a distinct ministerial order, contradistinguished from and superior to presbyters or elders, it has no foundation in fact. The very circumstance of our having acknowledged the *right* of elders to ordain is a sufficient refutation of the allegation. We consider the episcopacy a superior office in the Church—not a distinct ministerial order; and this is the light in which it has been considered ever since its institution. ‡

Dr. Bond's statement shows that the Church had recognized and made a distinction between "order" and "office" ever since the institution of the episcopacy. It is, indeed, a point of no little value in this investigation, that Dr. Bond's phraseology so clearly shows that in the early days the word order and the word office were used as meaning entirely different things.

That Dr. Bond was competent to give testimony on this question cannot be doubted. He was the great controversial writer of the Church, and his election to the editorship of "The Christian Advocate" in 1840 was no doubt due to the masterly ability he had displayed in the disputes of those days. He stood at a point in the history of the Church where he could speak authoritatively for the Church in his time, and from the time of its organization. When he wrote the passage just quoted he was in the prime of life, and with sufficient maturity to comprehend the view of the Church.

When Asbury died Dr. Bond was thirty-four years of age,

* Watson's Wesley, American edition, p. 253.

† Bond's "Economy of Methodism," p. 117. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

and a practicing physician, so that even at that time he was old enough to have met all the "fathers" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, as he resided in Baltimore, he probably had met them, and from them learned their views and the views of the early Church. Besides this, his family connections opened to him reliable sources of information. He was a near relative of the Rev. John Wesley Bond, who was Bishop Asbury's traveling companion, and who was with the bishop when he died. Had Dr. Bond no other means of gaining information on this subject, this relationship alone would, no doubt, have been sufficient to secure him accurate knowledge as to the opinions of Asbury and of the Church prior to that day. Probably there was no one at that time more competent to speak for the Church.

Dr. Bond stood beside the fathers and knew the sons, and so was familiar with the ideas of both. For him, therefore, to say publicly to an antagonist that the Church from the beginning considered the bishopric as an office, and not "a distinct ministerial order, contradistinguished from and superior to presbyters or elders," is most conclusive teaching, and sufficient to settle the question as to the view of the Church up to 1828, and even up to 1852, when his "Economy of Methodism" was issued.

In 1841, Bishop Hedding delivered a discourse before the New York, Providence, New England, and Maine Conferences on "The Administration of Discipline." At the request of these Conferences, he prepared it for publication, and it appeared in book form in 1842.

This brings us close to the memorable General Conference of 1844, which was followed by the secession of Southern members and the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The discussions in this Conference involved the very question we are now studying, and threw strong light upon the prevailing views of the Church as to its episcopacy. In the proceedings, "Hedding on the Discipline" was quoted a number of times in a way which sustained the idea that the episcopacy was an office, and not a distinct order, and there is every indication that Bishop Hedding, who was present, assented to this interpretation.

But, before considering the opinion of individual delegates and the action of the Conference itself, we turn to the Address of the Bishops, which was presented to the General Conference before the debate on Bishop Andrew's case had begun. In this address they say:

> The office of a bishop or superintendent, according to our ecclesiastical system, is almost exclusively executive. . . . So far from their being irresponsible in their office, they are amenable to the General Conference.

Continuing, they declare that bishops have not "a distinct and higher *order*. For, with our great founder, we are convinced that bishops and presbyters are the same order in the Christian ministry. And this has been the sentiment of the Wesleyan Methodists from the beginning." And they add that their authority "is by virtue of an *office* constituted by the body of presbyters, for the better order of discipline," etc.*

The bishops say the episcopacy is not "a distinct and superior order," or "a distinct and higher *order*," and so emphatic are they that they italicize the word *order*. What is more, so anxious are they to make the point plain, that they specifically state "that bishops and presbyters are the same order;" that this was the opinion of Wesley, the "great founder" of the Church, and that this was "the sentiment" of Methodists "from the beginning."

They go still further, and speak of "the episcopal office" and "the office of a bishop or superintendent;" and are so determined that it shall be understood as nothing more than "an *office*," that they italicize that word in contradistinction to the word order, and this address was signed by all the bishops, showing that it expressed their unanimous opinion.

We now turn to the opinion of the Conference, as expressed in the discussion of Bishop Andrew's case.

The Rev. Alfred Griffith, of the Baltimore Conference, was the delegate who offered the resolution in which Bishop Andrew was "affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the bishops." In speaking to his resolution, he referred to the title bishop, and said:

> We use it only and exclusively to denote and designate the chief officer of the General Conference, the chief officer of the

* Appendix A, General Conference Journal of 1844, p. 155.

associated Annual Conferences of this union. A bishop among us is therefore only an officer of the General Conference, created for specific purposes, and for no other than the purposes specified. . . . He is chosen as the chief among his equals. . . . Our bishops . . . regard not themselves as a distinct order separate and apart from presbyters or elders, . . . they are officers in the strict and proper sense of the term. *

Dr. Bangs, Dr. Olin, Mr. Cass, Mr. Drake, G. F. Pierce, Jesse T. Peck, and others also referred to the bishopric as an office. Mr. Comfort spoke of the "episcopal office," and said:

The proposed action of this Conference [that Bishop Andrew "desist from the exercise of his office"] did not affect his *orders*, but simply his jurisdiction as an officer of the General Conference. . . . His *office* only was touched, not his orders—a distinction which could not be denied without involving the doctrine of *prelatical* episcopacy; a doctrine at the farthest remove from Methodism on this subject. †

Here is a clear distinction between order and office.

Mr. J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, quoted from Hedding on the Discipline, and from Emory's "Defense," and said:

According to them, a bishop was but an officer of that General Conference. A high officer, he admitted—one whose very presence ought to inspire respect, and of whom they ought never to speak lightly; but still, after all, simply an officer of the General Conference. ‡

Dr. Durbin spoke of the "episcopal office," and quoted Coke, Asbury, and Dickins, to prove that "a bishop is only an officer of the General Conference." He also opposed the idea "that the General Conference has no power to remove a bishop, or to suspend the exercise of his functions, unless by impeachment and trial, in regular form, for some offense regularly charged." §

The greatest speech in this great debate was delivered by Dr. Hamline, who, before the session closed, was made a bishop. In his argument he referred to the bishop as an "officer," and to his position as the "bishop's office," and said: "In clerical orders every man on this floor is his equal."

Again he said: "That the bishop's is an office is, I suppose, conceded." So well settled was the idea that Dr. Hamline, in the presence of that able General Conference, dared to say, and take it for granted, that it was a "conceded" fact not requiring

* "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," pp. 82–84.

† *Ibid.*, p. 135. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 147. § *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.

argument, as it would not be disputed; and, certainly, this was the prevailing view of the General Conference of 1844.

Referring to the service in the ritual, he remarked:

> True we ordain him; but we may cease to ordain, and by suspending the Conference rule which requires a day's delay, may immediately blot from the Discipline these words (page 26): "and the laying on of the hands of three bishops, or at least of one bishop and two elders." Would not this harmonize our practice and our principles?

The nature of the episcopate had much to do in the matter of defining the power of the General Conference, and the position taken by the General Conference of 1844 was tenable only on the ground that the bishopric was an office.

Rev. Jesse T. Peck, afterward bishop, said:

> There are no *constitutional rights* invaded. As to whether a man will do for a bishop, or not, the General Conference is the sole judge, either as to his election or retention.*

He also held that if a bishop "should resign his episcopal office" he would still be "an elder in the Church of God." †

In one of the debates, Mr. Winner, of New Jersey, remarked, that "the *General Conference* is *the* supreme power of the Church, not the episcopacy." ‡

Mr. Griffith held that they were concerned exclusively with "an officer of the General Conference," and claimed that the General Conference "has power to regulate her own officers;" § and J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, asserted that, "if there were no specific law, the Conference had power to remove the officer it makes." ‖

Mr. Green, of Tennessee, put the position of various speakers in these words:

> They say that a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church is nothing more than an officer of the General Conference; having received his appointment from the Conference, and being merely an officer of the Conference, that the Conference has the right, when they shall judge it expedient to do so, to divest this officer of his office, without even the forms of trial. ¶

This Mr. Green opposed, as did the Southern delegates generally, and asserted the doctrine, "Once a bishop, whether able to do the work of a superintendent or not, always a bishop." **

* "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," p. 116. † *Ibid.*, p. 120.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 78. § *Ibid.*, p. 83. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 147. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 123. ** *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Mr. Hamline, however, with the majority of the body, held that the General Conference had "authority to depose a bishop summarily for improprieties morally innocent, which embarrass the exercise of his functions," * and "whatever it can confer and withhold it can *resume* at will, unless a constitutional restriction forbids it;" † and these were the views of the majority.

It is evident that some of the Southern delegates, in the effort to defend their bishop, were driven to the necessity of making claims for the episcopacy which were novel, and which had not been received by the Church itself. After the Conference had, by a large majority, pronounced against Bishop Andrew, the Southern members, who were in the minority, filed a protest embodying views to which some of the minority had given expression during the progress of the discussion. "The Protest" of the Southern delegates does not deny, but admits, that the bishopric is an office—"the episcopal office"—and an "official" "station," and refers to the bishops as "officers" and "executive officers;" but it claims that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch, the executive department proper, of the government." ‡ But Dr. Bond, who was present at this Conference, wrote in 1851 that "to sustain this view of the episcopacy, its advocates were compelled to take high-church grounds, bordering upon Puseyism itself." §

Again, alluding to the rule of the Discipline making the bishops amenable to the General Conference, Dr. Bond says:

> The minority of the Conference, finding it impossible to evade the force or escape the consequences of this rule of discipline, resorted, in their speeches and "Protest," to doctrines in respect to Methodist episcopacy which, if not entirely new, had only been attributed by the most bitter enemies of our Church government, and which had been disavowed as a slander by its defenders. ‖

Dr. Bond further observes:

> These high-church notions of episcopal authority, independence, and jurisdiction, had to encounter the well-settled theory of Methodist episcopacy, . . . and it was crushed and annihilated by the contact. . . . The high-church notions of episcopal authority and independence assumed in the Protest constituted no part of prim-

* "Debates," p. 129. † *Ibid.*, p. 131.

‡ Appendix H, General Conference Journal, 1844.

§ "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1851, p. 412. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

itive American Methodism, nor of the opinions of those who instituted Methodist episcopacy. Nor has there been any change in this respect since the present form of Church government was instituted. *

It would appear, therefore, that this novel doctrine of episcopal authority and jurisdiction was taken up by the delegates from the slaveholding Conferences to serve a purpose, and was founded on no just or tenable grounds whatever. †

When the "Protest" was presented, Mr. Simpson, as the report terms one who afterward was honored as Bishop Simpson, offered a resolution declaring that "they could not admit the statements put forth in the Protest," and directing "that a committee, consisting of Messrs. Durbin, Olin, and Hamline, be appointed to make a true statement of the case, to be entered on the Journal." ‡ This showed that "Mr." Simpson, the future bishop, denied the positions of the minority, and the composition of his proposed committee showed what views he desired affirmed.

The above committee was ordered, but when Dr. Hamline had been elected bishop and Dr. Olin had gone home, Dr. George Peck and Dr. Elliott, on motion of Mr. Simpson, were put in their places.

This very able committee presented a reply to the "Protest," in which they remark:

> In order to make out that the General Conference had no right to take such action as they have in Bishop Andrew's case, the authors of the Protest have been driven to the necessity of claiming for the Methodist episcopacy powers and prerogatives never advanced before, except by those who wished to make it odious, and which have always been repudiated by its chosen champions. §

The "Reply" denies that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch of the government." It calls the bishops "officers," and maintains the supremacy of the General Conference. ‖

The views of Hamline were the views of the Conference. They were sustained by a large majority, and, as the minority subsequently seceded, it left the view of the majority the view of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

With the close of the General Conference of 1844, the Church may be said to have entered upon a third period in its

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1851, p. 412. † *Ibid.*, p. 413.
‡ "Debates," p. 212. § Appendix K, Gen. Conf. Journal, 1844, p. 206.
‖ *Ibid.*, pp. 199–210.

history. It began its second period holding the doctrine of the parity of bishops and elders as to order, and it closed that period with a distinct affirmation of the same doctrine.

Now it will be seen that the third period opens with the same view. In 1847 Dr. Abel Stevens issued his work on "Church Polity." In this he says:

> The episcopacy of the Methodist Church . . . is presbyterian, our bishops being considered but presbyters in *order*, differing from [ordinary] presbyters only in *office*, as *primi inter pares*, first among equals.*

Passing to the General Conference of 1852, we find that "the superintendents presented a communication from Bishop Hamline, tendering his resignation of the episcopal office;" † and the Conference accepted the resignation. The language used by both the bishop and the Conference showed that both held that the episcopacy was an office, and the action of Bishop Hamline and the Conference showed that it was an office from which a bishop could resign and cease to be a bishop, and, ceasing to be a bishop, would take his place among the elders in an Annual Conference.

The late Dr. Eddy, in his sketch of Bishop Hamline, referring to Hamline's resignation, remarks:

> It was not broken health alone which led him to this decision, or a desire to be entirely free from care. He was actuated by a sense of high consistency. In 1844 he held and maintained, with great force, that the Methodist episcopate is not an exalted *order* of the holy ministry, but an *office*—of grave responsibility and dignity, it is true, but still an *office*—and one which can be vacated for disqualification by the General Conference without the formality of an impeachment, or by the voluntary retirement of the officer. . . . Now he would do the Church the service of showing, by example, that it could be vacated by the resignation of an incumbent. He meant in 1852 to emphasize the doctrine he taught eight years before.‡

The Church now began to consider the necessity for revising its ritual, for its formal services contained expressions seemingly at variance with the doctrines of the Church, and the service for setting apart the bishops had often required explanation. So, in the General Conference of 1852, C. Kingsley,

* Stevens's "Church Polity," p. 61. † General Conference Journal, 1852, p. 36
‡ "Lives of Methodist Bishops," p. 302.

afterward bishop, called attention to the necessity for amendment in the latter service.

In the General Conference of 1856 the question of the revision of the ritual came up again, and a committee, of which Dr. John McClintock was chairman, was appointed to consider what should be done. That committee reported that "a large portion of our ministry and membership are grieved to find in our most solemn forms the sanction of doctrines which neither we nor our fathers believe," * and they call attention especially to the misleading and dangerous language in the services for baptisms, the Lord's Supper, and the ordinations of ministers. The report shows that the Church had not looked to these services for its doctrines, but had tried to prevent the membership from being misled by language "borrowed from the rubrics of a foreign Church."

The matter again came up in the General Conference of 1860, and Davis W. Clark was made chairman of the committee. In the General Conference of 1864 he was made chairman of the committee on the same subject, and he acted as such until he was elected bishop, when Dr. Freeborn G. Hibbard took his place. This committee recommended various changes in the ritual, and especially in the service for bishops, and on its recommendation the General Conference struck out the word "ordination," which was misleading, and, according to the well-settled doctrine of the Church, a misnomer, and substituted the word "consecration." The Church had been charged with inconsistency in calling a service an "ordination" when it did not exalt to a higher "order," and while its bishops were only elders, and so, to be consistent in form, as well as in fact, and to check supposed high-church tendencies or dangers, this substitution and other marked changes were made.

Thus have we carried the examination from 1784 down to 1864, and through all these years it has been found that the accepted view in the Church was, that the bishopric was an office, and that the bishop had no higher ministerial order than that of presbyter or elder. Limited space has compelled us to entirely omit some authorities belonging to the foregoing periods, and to condense those we have used; but enough has been presented to demonstrate the soundness of our position.

*General Conference Journal, 1856, p. 292.

In 1873 the third volume of McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia appeared. In the article on "Episcopacy," and under the sub-head "Methodist Episcopal Church," and referring to its episcopacy, is the following statement:

> Its simple idea is, that certain elders are chosen from the body of the presbyters to superintend the Church, and are called *bishops* or *superintendents*, both terms being used in the Methodist ritual. . . . The primitive principle that bishops and presbyters are of equal rank in the New Testament is fully recognized; nor are bishops regarded as successors of the apostles. . . . It has been objected to the Methodist episcopacy that, while the theory of the Church admits but two *orders* in the ministry, the separate ordination of bishops really implies three. But the objection is groundless. . . . Mr. Wesley did not pretend to ordain bishops in any other sense than according to his view of primitive episcopacy, in which, as he maintained, bishops and presbyters are the same order.*

In 1876 Bishop Simpson's history, entitled "A Hundred Years of Methodism," was issued. In it he says: "The Methodist episcopacy is regarded as an *office* in the Church, not distinct in order from the eldership." † Speaking of bishops he says: "They are simply executive or administrative officers." ‡

Further citations are unnecessary. We are willing to rest our case on what we have given. The question is one of history, and the historical evidence is abundant and the proof conclusive. The established view of the Church from the time of its organization is what we have declared.

In recent years, however, a new school of thought began by voice and through the press to assert itself and gradually make its influence felt. It began to use the words order and office in a sense to which the Church had not been accustomed. At times the use was indefinite. Sometimes it suggested there was no difference between the word order and the word office, and, finally, claimed that the Church had three ministerial orders, and that the bishopric was a clerical order superior to and distinct from the eldership.

It might look as if the method was first to inculcate these views as though not antagonizing any thing within Methodism, and then, when the Church had become accustomed to the new way of putting things, to boldly assume that this was the view the Church had always held.

* Cyclopædia, vol. iii, p. 266. † Page 228. ‡ Page 229.

Possibly this was the result of a natural tendency which had always existed, and which might assert itself at any time should the Church be off its guard, and especially, as in 1844, if some important point was to be gained. In some instances it may have had its motive in a hankering after an ecclesiasticism which our Church has always rejected; but it is probable that frequently these erroneous views sprang from incomplete knowledge of the history of our Church's polity; but, notwithstanding this, they were none the less dangerous.

The history of the growth of error points out the possibilities of evil in human nature and in ecclesiastical organization. The developments from the simplicity of doctrine held by the primitive Christian Church, and the changes of view in modern times on this very question, even in the Church of England, are illustrative and very suggestive. It is well known that the Christian Church gradually passed from the primitive doctrine of the parity of bishops and presbyters up to a prelatical, and finally to a papal, government. That there is with us any immediate danger of that character is not asserted, but it is a possible thing for history to repeat itself, and so long as human nature continues in its present condition, the maxim, "Eternal vigilance is the price of safety," will apply in the ecclesiastical as well as the political world. No governmental evil comes suddenly. It is always preceded by a period of preparation; and the changes may be by stages so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. The ministry and membership of a Church should always be upon the alert, especially to detect covert evil. It was time for the Methodist Episcopal Church to indicate its watchfulness; but the new heresy in Methodism went on without any marked ecclesiastical check until the General Conference of 1884.

In that body one of the ministerial delegates, in the course of a speech, affirmed the high-church doctrine, "Once a bishop always a bishop." Whether this was intentional or unintentional it could not be permitted to pass unchallenged, and to stand in the printed reports without the Conference putting something on record which would counteract its mischievous tendency. The time had come to check the new school of thought which was becoming more and more aggressive.

The writer, therefore, in the General Conference of 1884

prepared, and on the 15th of May presented, the following resolution:

Resolved, That we reaffirm the doctrine of the fathers of our Church, that the bishopric is not an order but an office, and that in orders a bishop is merely an elder or presbyter.*

Alluding to the error which the resolution was intended to expose and neutralize, the writer in his remarks said:

Our honored bishops do not assert this false doctrine, but if the tendency in other quarters goes unchecked we cannot say what notions may be held by their successors. The very fact that such statements go unchallenged is itself dangerous. The danger may seem small now, but it will grow. If we would protect the episcopal office from misunderstanding and evil, now is the time to check this vicious tendency. †

After the author of the resolution had spoken at some length a member moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Episcopacy,‡ but the merits of the whole subject were quite fully discussed by at least a half dozen speakers, a larger number than usually gained the floor on most questions. At last, after the previous question was ordered, the Conference rendered its decision. The first vote was not upon the resolution itself but upon the motion to refer the resolution to a standing committee. Now if the Conference had wanted to avoid the issue it would have agreed to the reference, but it was evident that the Conference had positive convictions, and desired to make a deliverance upon the subject, and so the motion to refer was voted down by a heavy majority. Thus the body deliberately brought itself face to face with the main question, and then passed the resolution by an overwhelming vote. §

The Conference recognized the fact that the false view was spreading to a dangerous extent, and that it was finding expression through the public press. Dr. Curry, in advocating the passage of the resolution, declared that the erroneous opinion had appeared in various publications. He said:

I certainly have found it in print. Some of our ablest, brightest, recent discussions on the subject have assumed the contrary doctrines, at least by stating the case. ‖

* General Conference Journal of 1884, p. 207.

† "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–107; Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," p. 107. ‖ "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107.

The Conference saw the importance of checking the evil, and so took this opportunity for formulating the doctrine of the Church.

It is true the resolution was warmly opposed by a few, but no one denied that the resolution expressed the doctrine of the "fathers" and of the Church itself. Every speaker admitted that to be the fact. Dr. Buckley said:

> There is one thing settled in Methodism—that our bishops are presbyters or elders.

And Dr. Leonard went so far as to say:

> We have no third order in the ministry, and if any bishop on that platform wants to prepare the way to get the authority stripped off him, let him declare that the episcopacy is a third order, and that will be the end of his administration.*

This General Conference was thoroughly competent to give an authoritative deliverance upon this question, and possibly more so than any future General Conference can be, for it contained members who had been prominent ministers of the Church for about half a century, and had been members of General Conferences running back to 1844 or 1848, besides many who had made the polity of the Church a life study. No future General Conference is likely to have so many members whose lives will run back so near to the "fathers" and the early discussions, and so in that particular, future Conferences are not likely to be so well qualified.

For such a body to refer such a question to a committee would be like the Senate of the United States sending a resolution affirming that it was the view of the fathers of the country that the presidency of the United States was an office and not an order of nobility, and that the president was a citizen like other citizens, to a committee to examine the school-books and then report, so that the Senate might understand the facts and know how to vote. The Conference was familiar with the teaching of the Church, and did not need the assistance of a committee.

In the debate on the resolution the Rev. Dr. Curry and another delegate suggested that an "explanatory" "bracketed note" should be inserted "at the head of the form of consecra-

* "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107.

tion for bishops," stating "what is our view in this case, that none of our people may be misled, or the great public."* This suggestion was made on the 15th of May during the progress of the discussion upon the resolution, and so had the effect of notice given at that date.

On the 21st of May Dr. Curry presented a resolution embodying such a note to be inserted in the Discipline.† According to the rule it had to lie over, and it was printed in the "Daily Christian Advocate" of May 22. After standing in print a number of days Dr. Curry called it up on the 26th of May.

It was moved to lay it on the table, but the motion was voted down.‡ Then some one raised the point of order that it could not be considered without a suspension of the rules. This point was denied, but in order to settle all doubts the Conference promptly passed a motion to suspend the rules, and after discussion the Conference, with only a few votes in opposition,§ passed the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That these words be inserted as a rubric at the beginning of the ritual for the consecration of bishops:

[This service is not to be understood as an ordination to a higher order in the Christian ministry, beyond and above that of elders or presbyters, but as a solemn and fitting consecration for the special and most sacred duties of superintendency in the Church.]

Every thing in connection with the resolution and the disciplinary note shows that the Conference made these deliverances with great deliberation and determination. Twice did it decide essentially the same thing. The main battle was fought on the resolution, and the adoption of the explanatory note was merely a second decision on the same matter. Indeed, it may be said to have passed upon it at least five times: first, in refusing to refer the resolution to a committee; second, in passing the resolution; third, in voting down the motion to lay the explanatory note upon the table; fourth, in passing the motion to suspend the rules in order to consider the explanatory note; and fifth, the adoption of the note: and all this covered a period running from the 15th to the 26th of May, thus giving full time for reflection.

* "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107. † *Ibid.*, p. 150.

‡ Journal General Conference, 1884, p. 267.

§ "Daily Christian Advocate," p. 177; Atkinson's Hist., pp. 107, 108.

Some of those who objected to this action appeared to believe that the higher-order idea was not held at all, while others seemed to think that it did not amount to any thing. The Conference, however, had hardly adjourned when, to the amazement of those who had not estimated the audacity of the new school of thought, some of its adherents boldly asserted that the resolution and the rubric misstated "the historic facts in the case;" that the action of the General Conference was a "newly invented theory of our episcopacy;" that the episcopacy is "a distinct order in the ministry;" and that the Church had always had "an episcopacy that is of a third ministerial order." Such assertions were made in the public prints, even in denominational papers and other authoritative or semi-authoritative publications. They were also made in addresses before important audiences, and uttered very freely in private conversation. These adverse utterances, so quickly following the decision of the highest body in the Church, aroused many to a realization of the true situation. The action of the Conference was like a shot falling into an enemy's camp. It unmasked batteries which, unseen, had been preparing for the work of destruction. The return fire only revealed the existence and position of the foe. As a result many who had doubted the necessity for the resolution and the rubric were convinced of their propriety and pressing need. They now felt that the evil was more deeply seated than they had suspected, and that the action of the General Conference was timely, and not a moment too soon, and it was asked: If the holders of these notions will dare do so much in spite of the authority of the General Conference, what would they not have done if this authority had not been against them?

Another result of the discussion has been to bring about a re-examination and re-statement of the history of our polity. The agitation on the part of the opposition has compelled this. The historic evidence demanded and presented proves that the "fathers of the Church" did affirm that which the General Conference of 1884 re-affirmed. The doctrine that the bishopric is an office and not a ministerial order was the doctrine of the Church at the beginning, and has been the doctrine throughout the hundred years.

The higher-order episcopacy involves prelacy, and churches

possessing such an episcopacy have a prelatical government, but this, as was said in the General Conference of 1844, is "at the farthest remove from Methodism." The higher-order idea carries with it as a legitimate consequence a house of bishops, with legislative or veto power which would prevent the General Conference making laws without the concurrence of the bishops. The General Conference delegates vast executive powers to the bishops, but does not grant them any legislative functions, not even giving them voice or vote in its deliberations; but if it were once admitted that the bishops had a higher ministerial order, then the tendency would be to overturn the present law and usage. Heretofore the General Conference has been too jealous of its power to permit any thing of this nature, and the Church will pause a long time before it gives legislative or veto power to officers who already hold in their hands the destinies of more than twelve thousand ministers.

It is not asserted that the bishops want any thing of this kind, but that if the school of thought to which we refer were to preponderate that would be the natural tendency, and that this would be the logical result if the idea of superior clerical order, even without the name, were given to the *episcopoi*. Words mean something and have a living power, and an intelligent Church will not accept a new ecclesiastical term without understanding its meaning and intention; neither will it abandon an old one without good cause, any more than it will permit an old word to be used in a new, misleading, and false sense.

The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church establishes the fact that it has always considered its episcopacy as an office, and not a ministerial order superior to the eldership; and now after a hundred years of progress it will not go back to the dark ages for technical terms and ecclesiastical ideas, no matter how plausibly the false may be presented. With an episcopacy just as valid as any in the world, it will not weight it down with the dead body of an ancient error.

[Perhaps the subject would be simplified by recognizing the Christian Ministry as a solidarity, without any distinctions of orders by divine appointment, while all grades and distinction in ecclesiastical organizations are but human devices, to be continued or disused at any time as may seem expedient.—Ed. *Meth. Rev.*]

Art. III.—THE PROPHECY OF JACOB.

Jacob was the last personal representative and possessor of the great Abrahamic covenant. His grandfather, Abraham, had been separated from his kindred and native land, and received the covenant of circumcision. Isaac was preferred, to the exclusion of Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, and he transmitted the prophetic blessing of the covenant to Jacob, thereby excluding and supplanting Esau. After Jacob passed away the chosen seed was represented by twelve tribes, descendants of twelve sons of him who wrestled with the angel of Jehovah, and thereby obtained the lofty title of Israel, "prince of God." It is written in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, that before this last great father was "gathered to his people," the voice of prophecy issued from his lips, and, magnifying itself above the blessings of the everlasting hills (verse 26), disclosed unto his assembled children the great events of their subsequent history.

According to the late Professor Tayler Lewis, "there is but one part of the Scripture to which this blessing of Jacob can be assigned, without making it a sheer forgery, and that, too, a most absurd and inconsistent one. It is the very place in which it appears. Here it fits perfectly." * To many critics, however, this strong statement is not convincing. It is not denied that the poem is assigned to its natural place in the biblical narrative, but it is affirmed that its language bears traces of a later time than that of Jacob, and that what purports to be a prophecy of the dying patriarch was composed by some gifted writer in the days of Samuel or David. It is claimed that such a composition may have been designed to serve a good purpose, and to enhance in the public mind the great facts and hopes of the nation. No one in that ancient time would consider it a forgery, or think of it in any other way than as a fine poetical conception, and in beautiful harmony with the tenor of theocratic feeling. It was looked upon as a creation of poetic genius, like the discourses of Adam and Eve in Milton's great epic.

In the discussion of such a question, nothing will be gained

* Lange's Commentary on Genesis, p. 651. New York, 1868.

by dogmatic assertion. It becomes the thoughtful scholar to give all questions of criticism a patient examination, and to rid himself, as far as possible, of any bias or prepossessions which would interfere with impartial judgment. This poetical chapter of Genesis will serve, probably, as well as any passage of similar extent that could be chosen, to illustrate the real character of the critical discussions now current touching Old Testament literature and prophecy.

Waiving for the present the questions of higher criticism, we first examine the poem itself as a piece of literature. It should be compared with Isaac's words when he felt his end approaching (Gen. xxviii, 1–4, 26–29, 39, 40), and the songs and farewells of similar sentiment attributed to Moses (Deut. xxxii and xxxiii), Joshua (Josh. xxiii and xxiv), Samuel (1 Sam. xii), and David (2 Sam. xxiii, 1–7). These all breathe the same prophetic spirit. And we may also bear in mind the prevalent opinion of heathen antiquity, expressed by Socrates in Plato's Apology: "And now, O men who have condemned me, I would fain prophesy to you; for I am about to die, and that is the hour in which men are gifted with prophetic power." A like thought is expressed by Cicero in his treatise on Divination: "When death is near, the mind assumes a much more divine character, and at such times easily predicts the future." Similar statements abound in the classic authors;* and we may well ask, Is there any warrant for such a wide-spread belief? Or are these notions the offspring of fancy and superstition? It is unnecessary to obtrude any positive statement on this question, though much could be said on both sides. Much credulity and superstition have prevailed in all ages on the experiences and mental powers of the dying; but it is also true that many gifted men and women have been exalted in their last hours into highest flights of thought and utterance, and have evinced a clearness of spiritual insight transcending any attainments they were known to have reached before.

The rapturous utterances of religious emotion naturally take poetic form, and in this prophecy of Jacob we find the greatest intensity of passion, sudden transitions and outbursts of alarm, ejaculations of prayer, and a multiplicity of similes and meta-

* See the citations and references in Kalisch, "Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis," pp. 720, 721. London, 1858.

phors, almost defying in places the ordinary canons of criticism. Even the introductory words of the chapter, which describe the assembling of the family around the patriarch, are arranged in the form of parallelisms:

And Jacob called his sons, and said:
Assemble yourselves, and I will declare unto you
What shall befall you in the end of the days.
Gather yourselves together and hear, O sons of Jacob,
Yea, hearken unto Israel, your father.

These words evidently belong to the poem itself, and are not the composition of the historian who inserted Jacob's prophecy in this place in his narrative. What particular meaning the writer attached to the expression "end of the days" is somewhat doubtful. It appears to be too definite a phrase to be intended merely to denote *after times, the future.* It suggests the idea of a limit, the end of an age, eon, or period. Such an age had its רֵאשִׁית and its אַחֲרִית, its beginning and its end; and the author of this prophecy proposes to speak of events belonging to the end or closing period of the age to which he belonged. The Septuagint translates it by the phrase so common in the New Testament, "in the last days," which suggests the same idea of the closing period of an eon. The events contemplated as befalling the sons of Jacob "in the end of the days" were such as belonged to the closing period of the prophet's vision, the end as distinguished from the beginning of Israelitish history. How near or how remote that end might be is left entirely undetermined.

Having summoned his sons around him, and having thus briefly indicated the prophetic purpose of his heart, the patriarch proceeds as follows:

REUBEN.

3. Reuben, my first-born thou;
My might and the beginning of my strength;*
Excellence of dignity and excellence of power.

* Allusion to the supposed vigor of the first-born, as inheriting the full virile power of the father—first-fruit of his physical and spiritual strength. The nearly synonymous words *might, strength,* and *power* suggest all the forces of his nature. The possession of these constituted that *excellence* or superiority which gave the first-born of the family special rights. Comp. Deut. xxi, 17; Psa. lxxviii, 51.

4. Boiling over like the waters,* thou shalt not excel;
For thou didst go up to the beds † of thy father.
Then didst thou defile; ‡ my couch he went up!

Simeon and Levi.

5. Simeon and Levi—brothers §—
Instruments of violence their swords. ‖
6. Into their secret council come not my soul;
Into their assembly unite not my honor.
For in their rage they slaughtered men,
And in their wanton pleasure they houghed oxen. ¶
7. Cursed their rage, for it was a power,
And their fury, for it was severe.
I will divide them ** in Jacob,
And I will scatter them in Israel.

Judah.

8. Judah, thou! †† Thy brothers shall praise ‡‡ thee;
Thy hand in the neck of thy foes!
The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.

* Figure of speech to denote the unrestrained passions of Reuben. The dark blot on his life to which reference is made is recorded in Gen. xxxv, 22.

† The plural may hint at repeated acts of incest.

‡ The verb is purposely left without object expressed, and the insertion of the pronoun *it* in the common version weakens the expression. The indignant patriarch forbears to add even a word to his direct address, and suddenly changes to the third person, repeating the statement which gives the reason for the transfer of the rights of primogeniture to another son.

§ They were sons of the same mother (Gen. xxix, 33, 34), and were also of like disposition, as appears from their concerted action in the slaughter of the Shechemites. Gen. xxxiv, 25–31.

‖ מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם occurs here only, and in ancient and modern versions is rendered variously, as *machinations*, *habitations*, *arms*, *alliances*. Its resemblance of the Greek word for *sword*, *μάχαιρα*, is noticeable, and according to one of the rabbins, "Jacob cursed their swords in the Greek tongue." Some warlike weapon seems most naturally implied by the context, and the mention of swords in Gen. xxxiv, 25, favors the version we have given above.

¶ This statement shows their wanton cruelty. The common version, *digged down a wall*, follows the Syriac, Vulgate, and Chaldee, but disregards the Masoretic pointing, and is not sustained by the usage of the word. Comp. Josh. xi, 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii, 4.

** He speaks as one conscious of divine authority.

†† Pleonastic use of the pronoun, but adding emphasis to the address.

‡‡ A play upon the meaning of the name *Judah*. See Gen. xxix, 35.

9. Whelp of a lion is Judah;
From prey, my son, thou hast gone up.
He has bent down, he has crouched down like a lion,
And like a lioness—who will rouse him up!*
10. Scepter shall not depart from Judah,
Nor ruler's staff † between his feet, ‡
Until he shall come—Shiloh; §
And unto him shall be obedience ‖ of peoples.
11. Binding to the vine his young ass,
And to the choice vine the foal of his ass,
He has washed in the wine his clothes,
And in the blood of grapes his robe.
12. Lustrous the eyes from wine,
And white the teeth from milk. ¶

*Three different Hebrew words are here employed for *lion*, represented by *whelp*, *lion*, and *lioness*. The patriarch first calls Judah a lion's whelp, and then directly addresses him, as if, like a lion, he had seized his prey, and having eaten what he would, had gone up to his lair in the mountains. He then resumes the third person, and pictures the victorious lion as having bowed and crouched down, either for repose or in readiness to pounce upon any victim which might approach him. In this crouching attitude he is further described as a *lioness*, fiercest of all the lion-family, and most dangerous to rouse up in the lair. Hence the apocalyptic expression, "Lion of the tribe of Judah." Rev. v, 5.

† מְחֹקֵק may denote either a ruler or his badge of office and power. Some read *lawgiver*. The Septuagint and Vulgate have *leader*; Targum of Onkelos, *scribe*; Targum of Jerusalem, *scholars of the law*; Syriac, *interpreter*. The rendering *ruler's staff* affords a closer harmony with the parallelism.

‡ Those who render מְחֹקֵק *ruler*, or *lawgiver*, naturally explain this expression as a euphemism for posterity—the issue of his loins. But with the idea of *ruler's staff* is associated the custom of Oriental kings, as seen in representations on the monuments, sitting on the throne with the royal scepter between the feet.

§ *Shiloh*. The exegesis is discussed farther on. The grammatical construction we leave in our translation precisely as in the Hebrew text. It is equally correct, so far as the mere question of syntax is concerned, to render either *until Shiloh comes*, or *until he comes to Shiloh*. But to translate *Shiloh* as an appellative (like *rest*) involves many difficulties.

‖ Septuagint and Vulgate render *expectation*; others *gathering*, or *congregation*. But the word occurs elsewhere only at Prov. xxx, 17, where *obedience* is the only meaning suitable.

¶ Septuagint, Vulgate, and others construe the מִן in the verse as denoting a comparison: "More joyful," or "more lustrous . . . than wine, and whiter . . . than milk." This is allowable; but inasmuch as the previous verse depicts the great abundance of wine, and consequent fertility of the land of Judah, the more natural and suitable thought in this verse is, that *from* the superabundance of wine and milk (as the originating source) the eyes and teeth are affected.

ZEBULUN.

13. Zebulun—at the coast of seas* let him dwell;†—
Yea, he (would fain be) at the coast of ships,
And his side upon Zidon.

ISSACHAR.

14. Issachar is an ass of bone,‡
Crouching down between the double sheep-folds.§
15. And he saw rest, that it was good,‖
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he stretched out his shoulder to bear (burdens),
And became a tribute-slave.

DAN.

16. Dan shall judge¶ his people,
Like one** of the tribes of Israel.
17. Let Dan become a serpent†† on the road,
A horned viper on the path,
Which bites the heels of the horse,
And his rider fell behind.

* Extending between the Mediterranean and Galilean seas, but not really touching upon either. See Josh. xix, 10–16. Compare, also, Deut. xxxiii, 19. So, too, the words *side upon Zidon*, or *toward Zidon*, do not necessarily mean that his territory would border on Zidon, but would look that way; or the meaning may be, that the tribe itself would come to have some peculiar dependence on Zidon, or some notable relations with the Phenicians. In Deborah's song this tribe is celebrated for skill in penmanship and heroism in battle. Judg. v, 14, 18. Jacob may have seen in this son a taste for commerce.

† The word involves an allusion to the meaning of the name Zebulun. Compare Leah's words in Gen. xxx, 20.

‡ Or, *an ass of body* (so Ges. Lex. under גָּרֶם). That is, a strong beast of burden.

§ Inclosures made of hurdles, and open at the top. The word is dual, because these folds were divided into two parts. Comp. Judg. v, 16, the only other passage where the word is found. Septuagint has *inheritances;* Vulgate, *boundaries.*

‖ The thought is, that Issachar would choose ease and comfort, even though these involved submission to others, and the paying of tribute, rather than enter upon any great strife for power and independence. So he chooses the rich valley of Jezreel for an inheritance, and maintains the character of a hireling, in accordance with the meaning of his name. See Gen. xxx, 18, and comp. Josh. xix, 17–23.

¶ Play upon the word *Dan*, which means to *judge*. Comp. Gen. xxx, 6.

** Being the first named of the sons of the handmaids, it is made prominent that he shall, nevertheless, exercise authority and judgment as one of the tribes.

†† The strategic exploit of Samson, and the account of the Danite conquests in Judges xviii, illustrate the subtlety and prowess of this tribe.

18. For thy salvation have I longed,* Jehovah!

GAD.

19. Gad—a crowd shall crowd † him,
And he will crowd the heel.

ASHER.

20. Out of Asher—fat (shall be) his bread;
And he shall yield ‡ the dainties of a king.

NAPHTALI.

21. Naphtali is a hind sent forth;
The giver of sayings of beauty. §

JOSEPH.

22. Son of a fruit-tree is Joseph,
Son of a fruit-tree over a fountain.
Daughters climbed upon the wall. ‖
23. And they embittered him, and they shot,
And they hated him—lords of arrows. ¶
24. Yet stayed in firmness his bow,**
And stout were the arms of his hands,††—

* This sudden ejaculation has no apparent connection with what goes before or what follows. Perhaps the mention of the serpent recalls the ancient prophecy of conflict with the serpent's seed (Gen. iii, 15), and this verse expresses the deep longing for that *judgment* of sin which shall bring in salvation.

† The most noticeable play on words to be found in the whole poem. Every word in the verse but *he* and *heel* is some form of the word *Gad*. The translation above given is but an imperfect attempt to reproduce in English the Hebrew paronomasia. The thought is, that hostile troops or crowds will invade the territory of Gad, and distress him; but in their retreat he will in turn crowd upon them, and annoy their *heel* or rearward.

‡ Or, *give*. Allusion to the products of his fertile territory on the Mediterranean north of Mount Carmel. His soil shall give forth royal delicacies.

§ As the tribe of Zebulun became famous for ready writers (Judg. v, 14), so Naphtali, perhaps, became noted for elegant speakers, or displayed elegant taste for beautiful proverbs and songs. Hence, too, the fitness of the metaphor of the fleet hind, or gazelle, let loose upon the mountains.

‖ The image is that of a luxuriant scion, growing up beside (and so *over*) a fountain. Comp. Psa. i, 3. This fruitful scion begets many branches, *daughters*, which reach out and climb up over the wall near by.

¶ That is, masters in the use of bow and arrows. Joseph's foes are compared to skilled and malignant archers. The verbs (*embittered*, *shot*, *hated*) may refer to the persecution he suffered from his brethren and from Potiphar's wife.

** He turned archer, also, and lost no strength by time.

†† Significant and happy expression to denote an archer, whose hand must have back of it a stout arm to be effective.

From * the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,
From the name† of the Shepherd,‡ the Stone§ of Israel;—

25. From the God of thy father, and he will help thee;
And the Almighty,‖ and he will bless thee;—
Blessings of heavens on high,
Blessings of the deep lying down below,
Blessings of breasts and womb;—

26. The blessings of thy father have been mighty,¶
Above the blessings of enduring mountains,
The desire of everlasting hills;**
They shall be for the head of Joseph,
And for the crown of the consecrated†† of his brothers.

BENJAMIN.

27. Benjamin is a wolf. Let him tear in pieces!
In the morning let him devour prey,
And at the evening let him divide spoil. ‡‡

* The preposition (מִן, *from*) connects with the preceding, and indicates the source of the strength of Joseph's arms.

† The Masoretic reading is מִשָּׁם, *from thence*, and this is followed by many. But the reading מִשֵּׁם, *from the name*, accords closely with the preceding *from the hands*, and the following, *from the God of thy father*, and seems to be a designed allusion to Jacob's struggle at Peniel, where his own name (יַעֲקֹב) was changed, and where he inquired the name of him with whom he wrestled. Gen. xxxii, 27–30.

‡ Comp. Gen. xlviii, 15: "The God who fed me like a shepherd."

§ Comp. "the rock" in Deut. xxxii, 4.

‖ *Shaddai*, who appeared often to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Comp. Gen. xvii, 1; xxviii, 3; xxxv, 11; xliii, 14; xlviii, 3.

¶ That is, the blessings named are in real worth above, or greater than, those of the mountains and hills; they surpass them.

** The above version adheres strictly to the natural meaning of the Hebrew words, sustains the parallelism, and seems, therefore, much preferable to the common version: "blessings of my progenitors unto the bounds of the everlasting hills." To sustain this latter הורי must be derived from הָרָה, and used in a sense which has no parallel or support elsewhere in Hebrew. תאוה must also be twisted from its common meaning, and traced to another root. The parallel passage in Deut. xxxiii, 15, 16, is also against the common version. The blessings of the mountains and the *desire* of the hills poetically denote all natural beauties, products, healthfulness, and defenses which one could desire. But greater even than these are the blessings invoked on Joseph by his father.

†† נזיר, *Nazir*, the *separated*, or *consecrated one*. From this root we have the word *Nazarite*, one set apart by a holy vow. Joseph was *nazir* among his brothers.

‡‡ We prefer the passive rendering, as giving the passage greater expressiveness and in perfect keeping with the spirit of the entire prophecy. The warlike and

We pass now to examine the critical theories of the date and authorship of this Hebrew poem. There are three different views which demand attention:

1. The first and simplest conclusion is, that the poem is truly what it assumes to be—an oracle of Jacob addressed to his sons as they gathered around him to receive his dying benediction.

2. Another view is, that the poem is no genuine prophecy of Jacob, but the anonymous production of a later time. Its author, after the manner of poetical writers of all nations, conceived the happy thought of transferring certain facts of his own time and nation to the prophetic vision of a famous ancestor. So Virgil, in the sixth book of his Æneid (lines 756–891), represents "father Anchises" as detailing to his son a long account of the fortunes awaiting his posterity in Italy.

3. A third view may be represented as in some measure a mediating hypothesis, combining some elements of both the preceding theories. It maintains that Jacob did truly prophesy to his sons, and that the substance of what he said is here faithfully preserved, but that his sentiments were afterward put into the poetical form in which we now find them. Perhaps each son remembered the particular blessing or malediction which his father had uttered concerning him, and a later poet put the whole together, and possibly made some additions and embellishments of his own.

Against the first opinion named above it is objected, that the language is too poetical and highly wrought for an illiterate old man, who had been a shepherd all his life, and who at the time was in a weak and dying condition. "We might as well suppose," says Adeney, "that Shakespeare's famous speech of the

furious character of the Benjamites is illustrated by the history of the tribal war in Judges xx. From this tribe came the daring Ehud and the warlike Saul. Benjamin is portrayed under two characters, a beast of prey and a victorious warrior. Like a wolf that has prowled all night (comp. 1 Sam. xiv, 36) and taken prey, he devours it in the morning; like a warrior, after great conquests through the day, he divides the booty in the evening. In this imagery Lange sees the outlines of "a wild, turbulent youth and an old age full of the blessing of sacrifice for others. That dividing the spoil in the evening is a feature that evidently passes over into a spiritual allusion. Our first thought would be of the dividing of the prey among the young ones, but for this alone the expression is too strong. He rends all for himself in the morning, he yields all in the evening. This is not a figure of Benjamin only, but of the theocratic Israel; and, therefore, a most suitable close." See Isa. liii, 12.

dying Wolsey is a literal report of the language of the great cardinal." * This objection, however, is obviated by the very legitimate supposition that the prophecy was no sudden product of momentary inspiration. It may have been meditated for months, and even years. Though uttered, as the record shows, in the midst of his sons, and with all the solemnity and impressiveness which such a scene would add, it was not an extemporaneous prophecy. As Milton mentally composed long passages of his immortal poem, and afterward dictated them for his daughter to write down, so might Jacob have given the latter years of his sojourn in Egypt to the composition of this exquisite lyric, and so have rehearsed it from memory at the appropriate hour. We are no more to suppose this prophecy an extemporaneous effusion than the sublime utterances of Joel or Isaiah. As for the illiteracy and shepherd-life of Jacob being inconsistent with such authorship, it is a sufficient reply merely to mention the names of David and Burns. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that such utterances of the great patriarch received additional finish by some later poet. We may have here the substance of a genuine prophecy preserved to us in a poetic form, but no critic is now able to decide what is substance and what is merely form.

But according to Dillmann, one of the most recent critics who has written on Genesis, this poem wants the characteristics of genuine prophecy. Inspired prophecy, he observes, takes the present as a point of departure, roots itself firmly into current events, and may also catch glimpses of the immediate future and cast remarkable light thereon; but it foretells concerning the remote future only such certainties as rest upon the eternal principles of the divine government of the world; not details of history or geography. This critic finds in Jacob's prophecy traces of the historical and geographical condition of Israel after the conquest of Canaan, and assigns it to the times of the judges. He urges that the author's vision was so circumscribed that he evinces no knowledge of matters either previous or subsequent to the period of the Judges, and he therefore denies that the poem has the proper marks of genuine prophecy.†

And here the vital question opens. There need be no controversy between those who hold the first and third of the theo-

* Hebrew Utopia, p. 142. † Genesis erklärt (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 432–433.

ries named above. For it may be left to those who accept the prophecy as genuine to believe either that we have here the very words of Jacob, meditated and composed by himself previous to their utterance; or that we have only the substance of what the patriarch said, put into poetical form by a later hand. The main question of the Higher Criticism is, whether we truly have in this production, either in substance or in form, what the dying patriarch said to his sons; or whether what purports to be such a prophecy is merely the poetical invention of a later age? The thoughtful reader will perceive that this issue raises the great question between Naturalism and Supernaturalism. If this prophecy be merely a poetic fiction of the times of the judges or of the kings of Israel, what reason is there to believe that any of the other prophecies of the Old Testament are of a different character? And then follows, naturally, the question: Has God ever spoken to man? Is there in the Scriptures any thing which is to be regarded as the product of divine inspiration?

The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal Jewish books abound in prophecies assuming to forecast the future, and yet no critics of any note accept them as genuine. They are believed to be (what rationalistic critics affirm of such prophecies as this of Jacob) the production of writers living at the time of the events to which they refer, or else subsequent to the events. Why, then, do men unhesitatingly reject the one class of prophecies and contend earnestly for the genuineness of the other? Is not the rationalist consistent here, and likely to have the best of the argument, when he maintains that all such prophetic discourses belong to one class, whether we call them canonical, apocryphal, or pseudepigraphal?

On this general subject we make our appeal to the following considerations:

1. The mere fact that a given prophecy is recorded in the so-called canonical books need have no weight with us in this discussion. We are here called to meet the same questions that came before the men who set limits to the canon of genuine Scripture, and we should therefore form our judgment independently of their action. It is quite possible that they erred in judgment, and admitted some books which ought not to have been admitted; and equally possible that among the so-

called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are writings which deserve a place in the biblical canon.

2. But as regards the pseudepigraphal prophecies, it is conspicuously evident that they are largely imitations of what are found in the canonical books. Compare, for example, the vision of the eagle coming out of the sea (2 Esdras, chapters xi, xii) with the visions of Daniel, after which it is confessedly modeled. Compare almost any portion of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs with this grand oracle of Jacob. No candid student can sit down to a careful comparison of the prophetical pseudepigrapha and the prophecies of the canonical Scriptures and fail to note the very great superiority of the latter. They move in a different realm of thought and life.

3. The tendency of literary copyists to imitate great and genuine productions is notorious. Examples of this kind abound in the history of literature. Whatever one's opinion of the Books of Daniel and Esther, he has only to compare them as they stand in the Hebrew canon with the apocryphal additions which are supplied in the Septuagint, to learn the habit of later Jewish writers in imitating and supplementing their ancient Scriptures. Such imitations of great originals, so far from indicating that all alike are of one rank as to genuineness, favor, rather, the real prophetical character of the originals, and evince the spuriousness of the copies.

4. The fundamental question in this discussion will not be determined by the consideration of any one or two isolated prophecies. Old Testament prophecy, especially wherever it connects itself with Israel's Messianic hopes, must be studied as an organic whole. The New Testament teaching recognizes this truth in the idea that the older revelations were communicated in divers portions and in various forms. (Heb. i, 1.) Some of these particular portions, separated from their connection with the history, may be destitute of self-evidencing genuineness; but if the Old Testament predictions can be shown to be a grand connected series, starting as from a germinal root, and thence developing and strengthening through many ages, and never brighter and more inspiring than when the nation was in deepest humiliation and helplessness, then it would be a groveling and captious criticism which would ignore such facts, and refuse to study such a prophecy as this of Jacob in the

light of the entire series of national predictions which contemplated the sublime destiny of the Hebrew people.

5. It must also be observed, as favoring the genuineness of this prophecy of Jacob, that it comports most admirably with the events of the patriarch's life. The varied allusions seem to have sprung from just such experiences as Jacob's life had furnished. He who had the dream at Bethel, the vision of angels at Mahanaim, and the struggle and trial at Peniel; who had traversed mountain and plain, and been exposed to heat, and cold, and storms; who, like David in after times, had become familiar in shepherd life with the habits of the lioness and the lion's whelp, the ravening wolf, and the bounding hind, and the horned serpent hidden by the way-side; the father who had studied the character of each of his sons with more than human interest; the man who had watched the caravans of the desert, and learned from them much about other lands and peoples; who had stood in the presence of Pharaoh, and abode seventeen years in Egypt; the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the heir of the promises—he, of all men imaginable, was the proper person to utter these oracles. Candid criticism is bound to acknowledge that the life and experiences of Jacob, as they are recorded in the Book of Genesis, furnish the most fitting psychological basis for this prophecy. And, while we may concede that a later poet, working himself into the spirit of patriarchal traditions, might have composed a prophecy like this, it should also be conceded that a man of such deep and manifold spiritual trials and such lofty hopes as Jacob might, toward the close of life, have been lifted into a divine ecstasy, and have uttered an impressive prophecy touching the future of his sons.

The above considerations constitute one valid argument for the genuineness of Jacob's prophetic blessing. It stands out in admirable harmony with the patriarch's life and hopes, befits the close of such a life as his, and was adapted to transmit his own spiritual anticipations to the generations following. Like other oracles of the Hebrew Scriptures, this one is intimately inwoven with the history of the covenant people. Old Testament history and prophecy cannot be divorced from each other. They stand or fall together. The test of any recorded fact or prophecy is, not that it has been accepted by the general consensus of the Church, but that it is in vital harmony with the

entire scope and plan of the biblical revelation. A very important link in the chain of divine revelation would be wanting but for this prophetic outlook into Israel's future.

Against the constant plea of the rationalistic critics that true prophecy does not meddle with minute historical and geographical details, it may be boldly replied that Jacob's prophecy does not concern itself with such details. No better evidence of this is needed than the utter disagreement of the critics themselves. If details of history or geography are so minutely given, why such diverse opinions and uncertainty as to the date of the poem? The following six theories represent the condition of rationalistic opinion:

1. It belongs to the period of the Judges (Baur, Ewald, Dillmann. Ewald puts it in the time of Samson).

2. It belongs to the time of Saul's reign, and was probably written by Samuel (Tuch).

3. It belongs to the reign of David (Eichhorn, Knobel, Bohlen. The last-named thinks Nathan was the author).

4. It belongs somewhere in the period covered by the reigns of David and Solomon (Reuss).

5. It belongs to the earlier period of the divided kingdom, when Judah and Joseph were the two great rival tribes (Kalisch).

6. It belongs to the times of the Syro-Israelitish wars, to which allusion is made in verses 23 and 24.

Here we see the poem, which is alleged to bear historical and geographical evidences of its date, referred all the way from the times of the Judges to those of the later kings of Israel! Surely a most unfortunate showing for those who deny its genuineness, and yet affirm that genuine prophecy exhibits numerous marks of the time of its author, and grows out of his environments. In the face of these diverse views of critics we affirm that the prophecy is full of allusion to what must have been familiar to Jacob. The acts and qualities of his sons, which he would naturally have studied with deepest solicitude, are faithfully treated, and the whole poem is a mirror of the patriarch's life. It contains nothing incredible—nothing which might not in substance have been spoken by Jacob in his last days. It is, as noticed above, in perfect keeping with the dream at Bethel, and with the whole series of prophetic promises run-

ning through the Old Testament that in him and in his posterity all nations should be blessed.

To the statement of Dillmann, that true prophecies of the distant future deal only with such certainties as rest on eternal and unchangeable principles of the divine government of the world, it may be said: That is very true, but may need qualification as to what some of those principles are. If the divine government had in charge a holy purpose of Christly redemption, and its policy was to make known to man, by gradual disclosures, the wisdom and grace of that purpose, it is not for a modern critic to deny that even Abraham and Jacob might have seen and rejoiced over notable events of the far future. Compare John viii, 56. And all great events which had direct bearing on this purpose of God were among the certainties of the divine government.

Let us now examine the language of the poem with a view to finding any thing which may be reasonably inconsistent with genuine inspired prophecy. The words concerning Reuben have more fitness in Jacob's lips than they could have in any writer of a later time. The patriarch's soul was stung by the foul incest of his first-born as no other could have been, and all of prediction that the words of the father to this first-born involve is, that he should not attain or hold the pre-eminence to which his birthright entitled him. The broad, general, but decisive character of this prediction is in perfect harmony with that of Noah (Gen. ix, 25–27) and of Isaac (Gen. xxvii, 27–29, 39, 40), and cannot therefore be pronounced exceptional.

The malediction respecting Simeon and Levi is of a similar character, and the allusion to their violence and cruelty rests manifestly upon that vengeful slaughter of the Shechemites which troubled Jacob so sorely. Comp. Gen. xxxiv, 30. So far from being an accurate or detailed prediction, some critics pronounce it inconsistent with the history of these tribes; for according to Josh. xix, 1–9, Simeon had a definite tribe-territory allotted him, and the Levites, though having no separate tribe-territory, had assigned them most important cities with their suburbs, and were chosen to be the priests and ministers of the sanctuary instead of the first-born. So far, therefore, as the tribe of Levi was divided and scattered in Israel, the fact was an honor rather than a curse. In the blessing of Moses the

priestly character of the tribe of Levi is made prominent, and the language is notably different from this of Jacob. Comp. Deut. xxxiii, 8–11. All these facts are in conflict with the theory that our poem belongs to a later period; but, in the mouth of Jacob, they may be naturally explained. With their cruel slaughter of the Shechemites in mind, he curses the wanton fury of Simeon and Levi, and, speaking as one having divine authority (one of the most striking features of inspired prophecy), he declares that they shall be divided and scattered. In a broad general way this came to pass in the fact that Simeon's inheritance fell in the midst of that of Judah, and consisted of scattered cities previously assigned to Judah. The Simeonites never acquired any prominence in Israel, and are not mentioned in the songs of Moses and Deborah. And while the choice of Levi for the priesthood placed honor upon that tribe, it did not wipe out the record of the tribe-father's violence, nor alter the fact that his descendants never obtained a portion of the Promised Land like the other tribes, but were scattered throughout the country. It should be noted that while the language of Jacob is to several of his sons more a malediction than a blessing, not one of them is denied a place in the promised inheritance.

Much more remarkable is the prophecy concerning Judah, and yet we incline to the opinion that interpreters of all schools have been wont to find therein more than the language warrants. There are four things which every reader will see: 1. Judah is to be honored by his brethren, and accepted by them as ruler. 2. He is to be a mighty conqueror, with prowess like a lion. 3. He will bear the regal scepter and be obeyed by peoples. 4. He will be rich in vineyards, and wine, and milk. This last feature is readily explained of the territory of Judah, which was noted for its rich vineyards and pastures. Here grew the grapes of Eshcol and En-gedi (Num. xiii, 23, 24; Song of Sol. 1, 14); here were Maon, and Carmel, and Tekoa, famous for pastures and numerous flocks. 1 Sam. xxv, 2; Amos i, 1; 2 Chron. xxvi, 10. The mention of the ass is a further mark of princely wealth, for in the more ancient times the ass, like the camel, served for carrying the rich and noble. Judg. v, 10; x, 4; xii, 14. The thought is, that Judah will enjoy wealth of this kind, and the whole picture of abundance and luxury is enhanced by the thought that the vines

grow to such strength that the asses may be tied to them without harm. It is not improbable that this picture of abundance and repose is purposely added to the description of Judah's conquests and power, to denote the plentiful peace and quiet which he should enjoy after victories. But to adduce, as a parallel to this Scripture, the ass and foal of Zech. ix, 9, and Matt. xxi, 5, and the winepress and blood-stained garments of Isa. lxiii, 1–6, and explain all alike as a specific prophecy of the coming and work of the Messiah, would be extravagant, and would be reading into the language of this poem far-fetched ideas of a later time.

Four things, then, are predicated of Judah—Leadership, Conquest, Royalty, and Wealth. These ideals are set forth under appropriate imagery, and in highly poetic form. The only passage which looks like a definite historical or geographical allusion is the subordinate sentence, *Until he shall come—Shiloh*, where it is evident to an unbiased critic that the word *Shiloh* may, grammatically, be either the subject of the verb *come*, or the accusative of place after it. So the revised English version retains in the text, "Until Shiloh come," but puts in the margin, as an alternative rendering, "Till he come to Shiloh." The English revisers also add in the margin the rendering of the Septuagint: "Until that which is his shall come," and also that of Aquila, Symmachus, and the Syriac: "Till he come whose it is." The Vulgate reads, "Until he comes who is to be sent" (*donec veniat qui mittendus est*). Others translate Shiloh as an appellative, meaning *rest:* "Until he (Judah) comes to rest," or, "Until rest comes." Others less defensible explanations have been put forth in abundance.* But let this one thing be here

* Three different readings appear in Hebrew MSS., namely, שִׁילֹה, שִׁלֹה, and שִׁלוֹ. The Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Syriac, and some of the Targums, evidently read שֶׁלָּה, as if compounded of שֶׁ abbreviation of אֲשֶׁר, and לָה, or לוֹ. We have the cognate words שֶׁלֶו, שַׁלְוָה, and שַׁלְוָה, meaning *rest* or *peace*, and it is not impossible that one of these forms was the original reading of our text. But from such conjectures it is better to abstain, as well as from all dogmatizing assertions like that of Delitzsch, who pronounces the appellative rendering, "till rest comes," grammatically impossible; or that of Hoffmann who declares that "till he come to Shiloh" is the most impossible of all renderings! All such translations as that of the Septuagint and Syriac, according to Kalisch, "are impossible from the simple consideration that the Hebrew language does not allow an elliptical construction which omits the chief notion, and creates the most perplexing ambiquity."—*Com.*, p. 750.

observed: The number and variety of interpretations put upon the passage most thoroughly refute the assumption of those critics who affirm an historical or geographical definiteness inconsistent with the usage of inspired prophecy.

Without attempting to determine the precise meaning of this disputed text, we offer our judgment that the word Shiloh is most naturally interpreted as a proper name. As such it might mean either *resting-place* or *rest-giver*. It is the name of the place where the tabernacle was set up after the conquest of Canaan (Josh. xviii, 1), and where it remained as the central place of worship till the time of Eli. 1 Sam. i, 3. But against the simple and very natural rendering, *until he come to Shiloh*, is the decisive objection that up to the time when Israel came and pitched the tabernacle at Shiloh, Judah had no notable pre-eminence either for leadership, conquest, royalty, or wealth. The honorable position assigned to this tribe in the march through the desert (Num. ii, 3) is by no means a satisfactory fulfillment of the terms of this oracle; for Moses, the Levite, was commander during all the march, and Joshua, the Ephraimite, succeeded him, and commanded the armies until after the conquest and partition of the land. If this poem were written after the tribes had come to Shiloh and set up the tabernacle there, it is inexplicable that the author should have employed such language as this concerning Judah, for it is notoriously inconsistent with the history up to that time. On the other hand, if we have here a genuine prophecy of Jacob, and are to understand Shiloh as the Ephraimite town mentioned in Josh. xviii, 1, we have the same difficulties to meet, and also the improbability of Jacob's giving such an obscure town as Shiloh must have been at that time (if indeed it existed at all in Jacob's time) so prominent a place in connection with Judah. Four things, we repeat, are affirmed of Judah in this passage, namely, leadership, conquest, royalty, and wealth, and not one of them, in any conspicuous degree, distinguished him before coming to Shiloh.

We turn then to the common rendering, "Until Shiloh come," and ask: What might these words have meant in the mind of Jacob? If he employed the word Shiloh as a proper name, and yet not the name of a place, he would naturally have intended to designate some person. It is possible that he

may have had in mind some concrete representative of rule, conquest, regal power, and opulence, as that of a kingdom, but the word Shiloh does not readily accord with such a conception. The ancient opinion of the Jews, as represented in the Targums, and the prevalent interpretation maintained by the whole Christian Church, make Shiloh the title of the personal Messiah. It is accordingly believed that Jacob's prophetic vision opened for the moment into the distant future, and saw the regal position the tribe of Judah was destined to hold at the time when the tribes should be organized into a kingdom. It is also maintained that from the time when royalty was firmly established by the conquests of David, and by his settlement upon the throne, the tribe of Judah held the regal preeminence until the coming of Jesus Christ.

In favor of this view stands the fact that from David's accession on for many generations the tribe of Judah represented all that this prophecy affirms more conspicuously than did any other tribe of Israel. The permanency of the kingdom of Judah and of the royal line of David is one of the marvels of history. While other and greater kingdoms fell it remained. Revolutions swept over Egypt, and dynasty after dynasty passed away. Phenicia and Syria, with their varied forms of power and pomp, flourished and decayed. The great Assyrian empire, after oppressing both Judah and Israel and utterly destroying the latter, was overthrown; and yet the kingdom of Judah, with a descendant of David on the throne, maintained its individuality, held its ancient sacred capital, and continued unbroken, resolute, hopeful. And even after its fall under Nebuchadnezzar, and the seventy years of bitter exile, and after Babylon in turn had fallen and the Persian empire had risen into power, we find the dispersed Jews still led by a scion of the house of Judah, restored to their fatherland, and rebuilding their temple and city. This irrepressible tribe, thus again established in its ancient regal seat, survived the fall of Persia, outlived the triumphs of Alexander and his successors, and maintained its individuality through unspeakable persecutions and oppressions of heathen powers until finally dispersed by the Romans in A.D. 70. Let it be granted that during this later period there was no real king in Judah (as before the Babylonian exile), and that its dominion was but the shadow of royalty, its

persistence as a distinct nationality, settled and centered in its ancient seat of power, fulfilled in a most remarkable way the principal ideals outlined in this patriarchal prophecy. If there is not the strictest possible agreement, this fact refutes the charge of minute historical allusions, which the rationalistic critics affirm to be incompatible with genuine prophecy. In such a brief but pregnant oracle as this we should not expect the specification of particulars. Had it been intimated that during the later part of the period before Shiloh came there would be a lamentable failure of regal power in Judah, how would it have been urged that such particularizing proved the composition to be later than the exile! But it can be safely affirmed that in broad outline this oracle concerning Judah was a striking glimpse of what would distinguish that tribe above all others before the advent of Christ.

Against this Messianic explanation it is urged, 1. That the passage is nowhere else referred to in the Scripture as a prediction of the Messiah, and, 2. That the scepter departed from Judah at the exile, some six centuries before Christ came. As for the first of these objections, it is sufficient to reply that it assumes a standard for judging what is Messianic, which no interpreter ought either to ask or to allow. No prophecy claimed to be Messianic can be fairly set aside by such a plea. But in view of the objection it may be also replied that the apocalyptic designation of the Lamb of God as "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" (Rev. v, 5) shows that the New Testament writer associated a Messianic conception with this prophecy of Jacob.

The other objection is of more weight, for it is true that in the fall of the kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans the exercise of royal power was broken; no real king again appeared in the city of David; the Maccabean leaders who wrought such triumphs for their nation were not of the lineage of Judah, and the Herods who bore the title of king were of foreign birth. But after granting all these allegations the notable fact remains, that the vast majority of those who returned from exile were of the tribe of Judah, and that their body of elders formed a council which virtually represented the scepter and the ruler's staff. Notwithstanding their many oppressions, and the occasional interruption of their worship, they were permitted during all these centuries to manage their

own affairs, and constituted a distinct and well-known body politic until finally broken up and scattered by the Romans. The scepter of Judah was indeed of no great weight, but it was not taken away. The wars of the Maccabees and the government of Herod truly served to conserve and perpetuate the power of Judah. As long as the tribe retained its distinct existence and name, even though a foreigner held the scepter, the spirit of this prophecy was fulfilled. So the Persian dominion retained its name and power, although a usurper temporarily occupied the throne. No one now questions that when Christ at length appeared he sprang from the tribe of Judah.

Kurtz opposes the Messianic exposition of Shiloh on the ground of inconsistency with the stage of progress which the Messianic hope had attained in the time of the patriarchs. The organic progress of prophecy, he argues, and its vital connection with contemporary history, forbid the doctrine of a personal Messiah in that early age.* A close inspection of the patriarchal history, however, will scarcely substantiate this view. So far as the Messianic hope gleams out in that early time it reveals itself in a narrowing circle. The broad promise made to Abraham was after a time limited in Isaac. Gen. xxi, 12. Renewed again to Isaac (xxvi, 4), it was in turn committed to the line of Jacob, thereby excluding the house of Esau (xxvii, 29, 37). (See first paragraph of this article.) Is it not then to be expected that before the last great patriarch passes away some one of his numerous sons will be designated as the special guardian of the Messianic hope? At a later period this promise was narrowed to the line of David, the son of Jesse. 2 Sam. vii, 12. Moreover the death of Jacob marked a transition point in the history of the chosen people. They were about to become a people and a nation rather than a family; and no one great father could longer represent them. This, then, was the proper time for the first intimation of a personal ruler, about whom future tribes and peoples should obediently gather, and the suggestive but undefined and indefinite name Shiloh was suitable for such a new modification of Messianic promise.

The objections against the Messianic interpretation are of little weight as compared with the cogency and strength of considerations in its favor. And yet we should call attention

* "History of the Old Covenant" (Eng. trans.), vol. ii, p. 36.

to this important fact, that it lacks the definiteness which exposes to the suspicion of a prophecy written after the event foretold. The passage in dispute is but a subordinate sentence, and the limiting particles עַד כִּי, *until*, not only indicate the *terminus ad quem*, but may also include it. The thought, then, is, that Judah will exercise leadership until the promised deliverer comes, in whom the lordship will be perpetuated. The word Shiloh is also indefinite. While some such idea as that of *rest*, *rest-giver*, *the peaceful*, etc., is suggested by it, we may dismiss as strained the notion that David gave his son the name Solomon with specific reference to this passage, or that the "prince of peace" (*shalom*) (Isa. ix, 5) is an expression derived from the use of Shiloh in our prophecy. All such attempts betray a desire to read into the words of Jacob a definiteness which belongs to later prophecy. We cannot tell all that Jacob may have associated with this name, and it is not important for us to know. This much alone seems clear, that the future destiny of Judah was to involve praiseworthy leadership, conquest, royalty, and wealth, and that his regal authority would culminate in one—Shiloh—whom many peoples would obey.

Judah's tribe-territory seems to be described in the latter part of the passage concerning him, but in so general a way that it cannot be claimed as an example of historical or geographical accuracy inconsistent with the general style of prophecy. More noticeable, in this respect, are the words addressed to Zebulun and Issachar. Zebulun is to dwell by the sea, and stretch toward Zidon (verse 13), which seems at first sight to be a specific designation of the geographical location of the tribe. So far, however, from being situated upon the seas and bordering on Zidon, Zebulun's territory, according to Josh. xix, 10–16, was surrounded by that of other tribes, and touched neither sea nor land of Zidon. The parallel passage in Moses's blessing (Deut. xxxiii, 19) is: "They shall suck the abundance of the seas, and the hidden treasures of the sand." As designations of geographical position, both passages would better suit Issachar and Asher, and therefore do not favor the idea that they were written after the conquest and apportionment of the land. Better is the supposition that the dying father's words sprang from what he had observed in the tastes and habits of this son—

a love of commerce, a desire for ships and trade upon the seas, rather than the travel of the desert-caravans. On this supposition, the allusion to seas, ships, and Zidon—the synonym of ancient naval commerce—would be most natural in the lips of Jacob, as also the jussive rendering of יִשְׁכֹּן, *let him dwell*, and the obscure brevity of the whole verse.

We believe that rigid criticism, applied to these several descriptions of the future of Jacob's sons, will dissipate the notion that any of them are close delineations of historical and geographical events. The strong but easy and submissive character of Issachar was not inconsistent with occasional feats of valor. Judg. v, 15. The play upon the sound and significance of the names of Dan and Gad removes them from the plane of definite prediction. Asher's abundance of bread and royal dainties (verse 20) is outlined in most general terms. Benjamin's warlike prowess (verse 27) might have been predicated, also, of Judah or of Naphtali. Judg. v, 18.

The blessing of Joseph, however, rivals that of Judah, and hence Kalisch and others have argued that it must have been composed after the division of the empire of Solomon, when these two tribes represented all the political power of the Israelitish nation. But here, again, we may safely challenge any critic to put his finger upon word or allusion so specific as to determine the date of the poem. Kalisch's attempt to put the meaning of "crowned" (="who wears the royal diadem") upon נזיר, verse 26, deserves condemnation as the special pleading of a partisan; for the word *Nazir* is of common occurrence, and denotes the *separated* or *consecrated one*. It is the word commonly translated *Nazarite*, and never means one wearing a diadem. The blessing is in fullest harmony with the narrative of Gen. xlviii, 10–22; the bitterness and hatred referred to in verse 23, and the separateness denoted by *nazir* (verse 26) are most simply explained by facts in Joseph's life which were all too well known to Jacob, and may be read in the previous chapters of Genesis. The partial love of Jacob for this son of Rachel (Gen. xxxvii, 3) was still strong in his soul, and naturally broke forth in rapturous song on this occasion. Outside of what was personal to Joseph himself, the poetic allusions are general and far-reaching.

We conclude our examination of this ancient poem with a

profound conviction that it is most legitimately explained as a genuine prophecy of Jacob. As such, it fits the time and circumstances in which it assumes to have originated, and is every way worthy of such an origin. It is free from any minuteness of detail which can justly be made the ground of assigning it to a later date. Witness the unsatisfactory attempts of critics to determine its historical occasion. It cannot belong to the time anterior to Saul, says Kalisch, for it speaks of the royal dignity of Judah. And yet Ewald, Baur, and Dillmann are sure that it contains traces of the period of the Judges. It cannot refer to Saul's time, he adds, for then Benjamin would have received more notice. It must be later than the times of David and Solomon, he urges, for Joseph is represented as Judah's great rival, and the "crowned of his brethren." We have seen that all these judgments rest upon untenable foundations, and that the great diversity of opinion as to date is itself a complete refutation of the charge that the poem betrays, by minute historical and geographical allusions, a late origin.

The question then recurs: Has God ever spoken to men? Did the Holy Spirit ever reveal any true conception of the future to the patriarchs and prophets of the Hebrew people? Is there any divine or supernatural element traceable in the Scriptures? He who answers these questions in the negative will not, of course, be convinced by any arguments or criticisms based upon the Scriptures. But he who affirms these propositions and yet denies that Jacob's prophetic blessing belongs to the inspired Scripture will find insuperable difficulty in maintaining his ground, for the deep marks of genuine prophecy are here. If God ever spoke through the heart and lips of man, this is a fair example. Not the greatest or grandest utterance—no one claims that—but one in lofty keeping with that remarkable series of oracles which, commencing with the call of Abraham, and even before, grew more and more definite and grand, until the whole Israelitish nation was permeated with glowing expectation of deliverance and triumph through a coming Messiah. Jesus Christ, of the tribe of Judah, has fulfilled that expectation to all such as are willing to submit to the divine, spiritual Christ of the gospels, rather than to wander and search for a prince and kingdom of this world.

Art. IV.—THE HISTORY OF PREACHING.

The pulpit is the creation of Christianity. No other religion has used public oral instruction as its principal means of outward extension and inward edification, or incorporated such instruction in its public services. In this as in other things Mohammedanism has been partially a borrower. How vast the new field thus opened to eloquence, which was formerly restricted to the arena of politics and law, it is needless to say. The seed-germ of the pulpit was the reading and exposition of the law in the Jewish synagogue (Luke iv, 16); another striking proof of the fact that the synagogue, not the temple, is the model of the Christian Church. While the synagogue had its appointed order and officers, it also preserved freedom of teaching, as the scene in Nazareth shows. This freedom was long cherished in the Christian Church (see 1 Cor. xiv), and only vanished gradually. In the course of a few centuries it became quite extinct, and remained so, to the great loss of Christianity, through the Middle Ages. It was revived at the Reformation, and must characterize every community that would be true to primitive Christianity. There are other interesting examples of this freedom. The most ancient term for a Christian discourse was *homily* (Acts xx, 11), which denotes a simple, familiar address to a mixed assembly, almost in the tone of conversation. The substitution of the Latin term *sermo* marks the transition to a more formal style, though even this term had perhaps at first a more familiar sound than it has now. So in early times it was common for preachers as well as hearers to sit.

The character of the pulpit in a particular age depends greatly on the general state of knowledge and literature in the age, and still more on the state of religious life in the Church. Culture and barbarism, spiritual vigor and spiritual torpor, are faithfully reflected in the pulpit. No doubt, preaching has often been the means of religious awakening; but, on the other hand, the influence of the age and of the Church's spiritual life on preaching is undoubted. This must be borne in mind in the estimate we form of the preaching of the past. To apply modern canons of taste to the works of former ages

would be unjust as well as uncharitable. Excellence of style consists mainly in its adaptation to the kind of work to be done, and we have learned to exercise great latitude in this respect. At the same time, this judgment of charity is far less applicable to the matter than the style of preaching. We cannot forget that, while no canon of style is set up in the New Testament, there is a canon of truth. Former ages were surely in as good circumstances for knowing the real teaching of Christ and the apostles as ourselves. However this may be, nothing can blind us to the fearful change for the worse that soon came over the substance of Christian teaching. The more we know of patristic and mediæval days, the more we are impressed by the extent to which corruption penetrated Christian doctrine and morals alike. We propose briefly to review the long story of the pulpit in ancient, mediæval, and modern days.

We may mention at once the two main defects which clung to the pulpit during the first two periods. One was the overwhelming preponderance given to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture over the literal and historical. If the latter was not utterly ignored, it played a very subordinate part. The allegorical, tropological, anagogical senses were well-nigh all in all. It is plain that on such a system almost any thing might be made of Scripture. The sense for the historical side of revelation is all but exclusively a modern phenomenon. It is the fruit of the revival of learning and of the Reformation. The other fault is the terrible rapidity with which material, heathenish ideas became universal in the Church. The glory of the ascetic life, the mediation of the Virgin and saints, the merit of almsgiving, became the themes of panegyric, which grows in extravagance as time goes on. When the greatest preachers are not above criticism in these two respects, the lengths to which ordinary preachers and writers go may be left to imagination.

Origen († 254) heads the great roll of Christian preachers, as he heads the roll of exegetes and scholars. In illustration of the freedom just mentioned, it may be noted that he preached on a bishop's invitation before he was ordained as presbyter. It must also be said that he was constantly quoted in after days as the patron of the allegorical school of inter-

pretation. Still, with many faults, his general writings and his numerous homilies contain the first rudiments of homiletic rules and the first examples of their application. His familiarity with Scripture, and his skill in making it self-explanatory, are extraordinary. His aim is to bring out of Scripture both food for mind and heart and direction for the life. He combined real instruction with thorough popularity. His writings furnished matter and models to the pulpit for many centuries.

It is remarkable that in the Eastern Church preaching leaped to its highest point at a bound, and fell as rapidly. Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom (fourth century) are among the greatest preachers of all ages, and after them the Eastern Church has scarcely a name worthy of mention. In their days it was not thought indecorous for congregations to express approval in all the ways known now to public meetings. The greater preachers discouraged the practice. Whether the minor stars encouraged it we will not undertake to say. The diffuseness and rhetorical extravagance even of these brightest ornaments of the Eastern pulpit offend us; but we remember the canon of charity, and forbear. Basil and his friend Gregory Nazianzen were natura orators, and received a thorough training in the schools at Athens. They were also alike in their gifts of poetical illustration, and in their open eye for the glories of Nature. Basil's Homilies on the Six Days of Creation exhibit these powers in a remarkable degree, anticipating the argument from design. These homilies were largely copied and imitated. Gregory's sermons on the Trinity, the great subject of controversy of the age, dealt not merely with its theoretical aspects, but with its practical consequences to Christian life and worship, and are an excellent model of doctrinal preaching. Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, was inferior as a preacher. If we were asked to name the greatest popular preacher of all time, we should unhesitatingly name Chrysostom (the "Golden Mouth"). Not a great polemic or theologian or thinker, not perhaps the greatest of all preachers absolutely, he combined in a higher degree than any one else the qualities which go to make the popular preacher in the best sense. We know no other pulpit orator who has possessed such absolute power over an audience, and who has uniformly exercised his power in so noble a spirit and to such noble ends.

We know of no drawback to his greatness and nobility save, perhaps, the imprudence with which he furnished occasion to the malignity of a wicked empress, when he exclaimed in public, "The daughter of Herodias dances again!" His mighty powers were used to lash wickedness in high places and low. To his infinite honor, bad politicians and bad priests and monks were his bitter enemies, and wrought his ruin. The tragedy of Herod, Herodias, and the Baptist was played over again in Chrysostom's exile. Of all the early preachers he is the freest from allegorical extravagance. He belonged to the Antiochian school, which held to the literal sense of Scripture. His sermons and homilies display wonderful common sense, as well as boundless resources of tact and sympathy. He is not free from the repetition which is the danger of extempore discourse, but the repetition was the result of his determination to bring what he said home to the hearts of his hearers.

Chrysostom had no successor in the Eastern Church. Without denying that a few respectable names occur afterward, we have searched in vain all through the Middle Ages for one really great name. The decline of the pulpit followed the decline of spiritual life and energy in Eastern Christianity. The exaltation of the monkish life as the ideal Christian life, the preaching of the Virgin and saints instead of the preaching of God and Christ, belief in the virtue of relics and the cross, became the universal rule. Let one moderate example from Andrew of Crete (seventh century), a preacher not destitute of talent, suffice. He calls the Virgin "the diadem of beauty, the queen of our race, Christ's holy temple, the rod of Aaron, the root of Jesse, the scepter of David, the mediator of the law and grace, the seal of the Old and New Testament, the looked-for salvation of the heathen, the common refuge of all Christians, the first restoration of the fall," etc. Henceforth our attention must be confined to the Western Church. Here, indeed, the same evils ran riot. Still, there was a vigor of spiritual life and missionary ardor which superstitious excesses did not succeed in overpowering.

The two greatest preachers of the early Western Church are Ambrose (340–397) and Augustine (354–430). Ambrose reminds us of the late Bishop Wilberforce. He was great, not in any specific line, but in general versatility, broad sympathies,

and commanding personal influence. An assiduous student of Origen, Basil, and Athanasius, he transferred their teaching to the West. His *Hexæmeron*, in six books, is a reproduction of Basil's work already mentioned. And along with the ideas of the Eastern preachers he reproduced their allegorizing tendencies. His style has all the faults and all the merits of the born rhetorician—an affluent but untrained and ill-regulated fancy. Augustine, his spiritual child, praises the *suavitas* of his preaching. What shall we say of Augustine? His greatness lay elsewhere. Still, his imperial genius made smallness in any thing impossible to him. The power of his numerous extant sermons or homilies lies in the flashes, the intuitions, of great truths scattered through them. With a swiftness amounting to divination, instead of plodding through detail, he seizes upon the central truth of a book or passage, and sets it forth in luminous outlines. Amid masses of allegorical rubbish we come upon treasures of thought which more than repay the labor of digging. He combines, in a wonderful manner, speculative with practical genius. He is strong, imposing, massive in the highest degree—an intellectual and spiritual giant. The preachers and expositors of the Middle Ages lived upon his brains. The homiletic manual contained in his *De Doctrina Christiana* (book iv) was substantially reproduced again and again, as, for example, by Rhabanus Maurus in the ninth century.

The greatest names of the next two centuries are Leo the Great († 461), Cæsarius of Arles († 542), and Gregory the Great († 604). If they borrowed from their greater predecessors, they borrowed in royal style. They are related to common plagiarists as knightly marauders to common thieves. Leo's best sermons are those which deal with the dogmatic questions discussed in his days. His clear judgment and antithetic style undoubtedly did good service in putting the last touches to the definitions of Christology. His Latin still retains something of the purity of old times. Cæsarius is one of the most attractive figures of his time. Standing at the helm of the Gallic Church in the troublous days of the barbarian invasions, he steered its course with consummate skill, using his great influence both with kings and peoples for the best ends. His sermons have an evangelical ring which is only too rare in those days. He

insists that fasting, vigils, alms, will avail nothing without the love of a new heart. Love of God is the spring of all good works, and it is the sweetest; whoever has it has salvation. He warns against all trust in the sign of the cross as a charm, as well as against the hypocritical repentance of a death-bed. He urges his hearers to read the Scriptures, or, if they cannot read, to have them read. His style, too, is as simple as his tone is practical. Gregory's *Moralia in Jobum*, filling above a thousand folio pages, anticipated our own Caryl, and is much of the same character. This work is an inexhaustible mine of rules and reflections bearing on practical life. Still, despite his intolerable prolixity and childish expositions, despite his admiration for the ascetic life, which he preached into favor in the West, one is pleased to hear that Gregory delighted in preaching, and that like a true pastor he stood by his flock in days of fearful pestilence. In indefatigable toil he reminds us of Baxter. The sermons of the English Bede owe much to Gregory. Preachers of less distinction but considerable power were Columban and Eligius of Noyon, of whom mention must suffice.

We turn now to the Middle Ages. During the first part of this period preaching sank to a low point, the result of a corresponding intellectual and moral decline. Charlemagne tried to meet the case by the publication of a "Homilarium," a collection of homilies taken from Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, Leo, Bede. About this time, also, the lectionary was definitely fixed, the idea being, that as the whole of Scripture was too much for preachers to master they should confine their study to the selected portions. The qualifications required of priests were fixed at a very low point, and related chiefly to the right performance of mechanical functions and duties. Superstitious corruptions rose to as great a height in the West as in the East. According to Fulbert of Chartres (eleventh century) Christ is an object of terror to Christians; his mother, on the other hand, is the fount of mercy and grace. Peter Damian's language on the same subject, in his sermons on the Annunciation and Assumption, is still wilder, not to say grossly irreverent. The latter half of this period witnessed a great improvement in the form of preaching, due to the growth of scholasticism, which, however questionable in some respects, was at least a manifestation of mental power. If the doctrines preached

were too often unevangelical in the highest degree, they were preached with more logical connection and intellectual force. Stirred up by the success of the Waldenses and other sects in preaching, the Dominicans arose as a preaching order, and the Franciscans followed suit. They gave themselves to itinerant preaching in a popular style, for the purpose of counteracting the work of the "heretics," and they largely succeeded.

The result of this movement was an immense outburst of popular preaching, good and bad. The latter we will pass by, only remarking, for the comfort of those who are shocked by some modern excesses of the pulpit, that the worst outrages upon taste and reverence in our days might be more than rivaled from the Middle Ages. The lengths to which burlesque was carried by the Italian Dominican, Barletta, and the French Franciscans, Maillard and Menot, in the fifteenth century, set all rules of decorum and decency at defiance. And yet these preachers were in universal favor. It passed into a proverb in Italy, *Qui nescit Barlettare, nescit prædicare.*

We prefer to notice popular preachers of a better stamp. One would like to know more of Foulques, a priest at Neuilly, near Paris, in the twelfth century, who, we are told, though destitute of culture, preached repentance over a great part of France with burning eloquence and immense effect. But none of his sermons have come down to us. Perhaps if they had come down to us we should have found that, like Whitefield's, their spirit evaporated on paper. However, we know something of Berthold, Vincent Ferrer, Gerhard Groot, Geiler, to say nothing of Wiclif and his helpers—Huss, Jerome, and Savonarola. Berthold, a Franciscan of the thirteenth century, was the instrument of a true religious revival in Germany. Although standing on the ground of the Romish Church, and showing no disposition to deviate from it, he preached its doctrines in a moderate form. Thus he preaches earnestly against pilgrimages and crusades, as well as against indulgences. He prefers to insist rather on following the examples of the saints than on seeking their intercession. His favorite topics are the practical virtues and duties of life. He preached in fields to immense crowds of people. It is the form, however, rather than the matter, of his preaching that is remarkable. He laid himself out to gain the popular ear, dealing largely in parable,

dialogue, and illustration, surprising by sudden turns, introducing a spice of humor, while never descending to the comic. Berthold, in short, is another proof of the possibility of making religion as interesting and popular with the masses as politics or science by perfectly legitimate means. Ferrer, a Dominican of the fourteenth century, of a more fanatical bent than Berthold, was not unlike him in his mode of preaching, and was the means of a similar awakening in Spain and Italy. The last twenty years of his life were spent in constant preaching journeys in these countries with striking results. Enemies were reconciled, hardened sinners publicly confessed their sins and vowed amendment, Jews and Mohammedans were converted in great numbers. On his incessant journeyings he preached every day, often twice or thrice a day. He was a predestined preacher, his chief amusement in childhood taking this form. He had a fine voice, exhaustless fluency, a clear, logical, picturesque style. Like many of his class, he was not without learning, often making apt quotations from the Fathers. His sermons fill four folios, which have often been reprinted. Gerhard Groot, the founder of "The Brothers of the Common Life" in the fourteenth century, labored in a similar way in the Netherlands. Giving up ecclesiastical office and property, he went through town and village, poorly clad, calling the people to repentance. He spoke from the heart and in the vernacular, often preaching twice or thrice a day. At the instigation of the priests and monks the bishop at last reduced him to silence. It was in one of the schools of his foundation that Thomas à Kempis was trained. Geiler enjoyed immense popularity in the fifteenth century as preacher at the Strasburg Cathedral, but it was popularity of a kind with which we are little able to sympathize. He preached in fables, anecdotes, witticisms, taking up any illustration that came to hand and working it to death. Zaccheus's tree had twenty-three branches, and each branch represents one of the means by which we are to climb to eternal life. Ants, lions, ships, mountains, markets, swords, are similarly allegorized. Even indecency is not wanting. The taste both of preachers and hearers can only be described as hideous, even for their days.

The scholastic preachers proper, represented by Bernard of Siena, Leonhard of Utino, Meffreth, Bernard of Busti (fifteenth

century), and greater names, and such as Albert the Great (thirteenth), the Victors (twelfth), Abelard (twelfth), need not detain us. They are all after one pattern. Great learning, abundance of logic, boundless superstition, length and dryness, are their common features. The following is an apostrophe to the Virgin by Bernard of Busti: "O Redemptress of the world, Changer of the course of Nature, Restorer of a lost world, Renewer of human nature, Mediatrix between God and men, Foundation of our faith, Ladder by which we ascend to heaven, Queen and Empress of the whole universe, preserve us from evil spirits!" Preachers like St. Bernard, Huss, Wiclif, Savonarola, we pass by as well known. But some representatives of the Mystic school deserve notice, such as Bonaventura, Eckhart, Suso, Tauler, Gerson. The sermons of Bonaventura (thirteenth century), despite their scholastic manner and superstitious extravagances, show real sympathy with inward religion. He has a hearty love of Scripture and makes diligent use of it, although in the usual allegorical way. Of the other mystics, Tauler (fourteenth century), whose sermons have appeared in an English dress, is by far the most intelligible. By renouncing the exercise of his own reason and will, man is to rise to unity with God. Passive submission is the way to perfection. Like all mystics, Tauler depreciates knowledge and outward effort, even knowledge of the letter of Scripture. Inward calm, emptiness, detachment, are the chief things. His style is simple, and yet enriched with apt figures. He has many quotations from the Fathers, but always in the right place. Tauler may still be read with profit. It will do us all good to hear the old mystic insist on the heart being emptied of worldly desire before God can come in. "Emptiness is the first and chief condition for receiving the Holy Spirit; for the more emptied man is, the more receptive he is. Before filling a glass with wine, the water in it must go out. Before God comes in, the creature must go out." The image of Christ kept before us perpetually will kindle love to him. He is never weary of illustrating the instinctive hunger of man's soul for God. As fire tends upward, as water flows back to its source, so the soul never rests till it finds its way back to God. "A single flight of the soul to the wounds of our Lord is worth more to God than all the bells and organs and vestments."

The modern era of preaching begins with the Reformation. The Reformation was essentially a return to God's word. God's word was the sole instrument and trust of the Reformation. That word had free course to an extent never seen before. Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, and the other Reformers were pre-eminently preachers. The form of preaching also underwent an immense change. We are in a new world: scholasticism with its hair-splittings, and superstition with its externalism, are behind us; the owls and bats of superstition are fleeing in terror before the dawn; the air is pure, and the heavens bright above us. This latter change is due in great measure to the revival of learning, and the entirely new direction given to inquiry and thought. The reign of *a priori* speculation is over; faith is henceforth to be grounded on evidence and historic fact. Even the Romish Church has felt the change that has come over the world. Its preachers have known to some extent how to march with the times.

We proceed to notice the names marking the different stages of preaching in continental Protestantism. J. Arndt (1555–1621) led preaching out of the groove of almost scholastic dogmatism into which it fell after Luther's days, into the more fruitful paths of spiritual teaching and practical edification. His sermons contain a sober mysticism, and breathe a mild, humble, loving spirit. He dwells on practical truths, and on faith working by love. He is best known by his work on "True Christianity," once a most popular book of practical religion. Spener (1635–1705) gave a still more powerful impulse in the same direction. His great influence was owing, not to gifts of style, which he had not, but to the contrast which his practical expository teaching presented to the intellectual orthodoxy which formed the staple of so much other preaching. Knowledge, he said, is only valuable as it leads to practice. Justification must not be separated from a new nature and holy life. Love of God and our neighbor is the spring of Christian morality. Spener has often been called the German Wesley. That he did not effect the reformation in Germany which Wesley did in England was due to the timidity which prevented him from acting independently of the Church authorities of the day. His bravery ended in words. We hear a great deal in some quarters about the regularity and insubor-

dination of Wesley's proceedings. The simple answer is, that without such irregularity or independence the good which the same critics profess to applaud could not have been done. If Wesley had waited for the consent and approval of Church authorities, where would the revival of the last century, with its manifold effects, have been? Had there been less slavish deference to and dependence on civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries in Spener and other German preachers, the religious history of modern Germany would have been different, blessedly different, from what it has been. Mosheim († 1755), the Church historian and a universal scholar, exerted great influence on the pulpit of his day by renewing its connection with eloquence and culture. He maintained that pulpit eloquence only differed from other kinds in its subject and purpose. Other things being equal, the most eloquent and most cultured preacher will be the most effective. He also drew attention to the important distinction between a written and a spoken style, the latter allowing and requiring greater freedom and variety than the former. Tillotson was a favorite with Mosheim. His own sermons remind us of Blair's, but they have far more force and warmth. Mosheim's principles are well illustrated in Lavater († 1800), whose sermons are polished, thoughtful, and impressive in the highest degree. Reinhard († 1812), Müslin, Theremin († 1846), Dräseke († 1849), deserve more extended notice than we can give them. All these set themselves to recommend positive Christianity to cultured hearers, and in different ways they are classical examples of success in this art. Scarcely less eminent names are those of Rieger, Albertini, Menken, through whom the succession goes on to Schleiermacher. In the Reformed Church we should have to notice Daillé, Claude, Saurin, if space permitted.

The modern Roman Catholic pulpit reached its highest point in France at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. That was the Augustan age of French literature, and Fléchier, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, and Massillon are to be added to its classics. In point of form they are typically French orators. As studies in style they will always be full of interest and value to others than Frenchmen. Bossuet, despite his tendency to florid grandiloquence, has an eagle sweep and grandeur; Bourdaloue, "the king of preachers

and preacher for kings," charms by his clearness and serenity; Fénelon is a mystic without a tinge of obscurity; Massillon impresses by his fearless honesty, knowledge of human nature, and power of description. Still, there is great truth in Rothe's criticism, that the substance of the teaching of these great French pulpit orators was Deism, ornamented with Christian phrases and qualified by insistence on the powers and functions of the Catholic Church. One also wonders at the apparently slight effect of their wonderful efforts. The Grand Monarch might say to Massillon, "When I hear other great preachers, I am satisfied with them; but when I hear you, I am dissatisfied with myself;" but we fail to find the evidences of such dissatisfaction in his public policy or private life. His court still continued to imitate the court of the Cæsars, not only in its ambition and luxury, but also in its unblushing immorality.

The English pulpit has no reason to fear comparison with that of any age and country. Taylor, South, Andrewes, Donne, Barrow, Farindon, Reynolds, Tillotson, Manton, Baxter, Howe, Wesley—to say nothing of preachers like Beveridge, Wilson, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, S. Clarke, Doddridge, and more recent names—are worthy to rank beside English poets, historians, and philosophers. They have helped to make the English language. Their works are a library of divinity in themselves. They have absorbed the wisdom of the previous Christian centuries, and reproduced it in noble English. A minister who should make a study both of the style and contents of their sermons would act wisely. Taylor, with his exuberance of imagination, seems like a Basil or Gregory Nazianzen in English dress. South's terse, sinewy style exactly fits his strong, manly thought. Barrow is full of noble, strenuous energy. Farindon cannot be excelled for richness of matter, nor Tillottson for clearness and simplicity of style, nor Baxter for burning earnestness, nor Howe for comprehensiveness of treatment. Some of the judgments on English preachers expressed by Rothe, whose work gives us much of the matter of this article, are exceedingly amusing. The great masters are passed by with meager notice, while Joseph Fawcett receives long and unstinted praise! Wesley and Whitefield, he says, are harsh and narrow in their views; they were no doubt powerful preachers, but their power is often violence; their aim was to work on the imagination of their

hearers by terrible descriptions, "a violent delivery, and tempestuous action." It is certain that Rothe could not have read Wesley's sermons or his "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion." The association of "a violent delivery and tempestuous action" with John Wesley is ludicrous. So much for a German's knowledge of English life.

The result of this brief review of the Christian pulpit may well be to inspire Christians, and especially Christian preachers, with pride and confidence. A similar review of more recent, not to speak of living, preachers would be the best reply to the complaints heard here and there of the decay of the pulpit. The decay of an institution that has been the chief organ in the maintenance and extension of Christianity, and that was ordained for this very purpose (Mark xvi, 15; 1 Cor. i, 17, 21), could only follow from the decay of Christianity itself. Those who make the charge mistake change of form for vital decline. On the same principle every change in forms of government would indicate decay. No institution has passed through greater variety of phase than the Christian pulpit; but this is merely an evidence of its power to adapt itself to different kinds of need and different forms and stages of culture. The inspiration of preaching has always been drawn from the grandeur of the truths which Christianity reveals, and till these truths are disproved—that is, till Rationalism and Atheism have established their positions—this spring of inspiration will remain. "I believed, therefore have I spoken," is the rationale of preaching. Faith, conviction, experience, joined with the gifts and enthusiasm of the speaker, have made preaching; and preaching has made Missions, Revivals, Reformations, Churches—in short, has made Christendom.

Art. V.—FOREIGN MISSIONARY METHODS.

Protestant Missions are the outgrowth and expression of the modern spirit and ideas in the Christian Church. Unhindered by the traditions of former times, and freed from the worn-out methods and forms of expression which have lost their vitality, and without the ossification of ideas and impulses which renders so rigid and unyielding the activity of the Church at home, it might be presumed that there is less occasion with them for insisting on progress, and on the further development and improvement of the accepted policies and methods employed. But while it may be with them granted that the spur is less necessary, the fact remains that for various reasons it cannot be wholly dispensed with. The secretaries and managers of the various boards very largely shape and control the plans and methods of the missionaries, and the conservatism of the home Churches intensifies the natural caution of the administering authorities. The field of operation is so new, and the problems involved so complicated, that one generation of missionaries could not hope to solve them all, or acquire a perfect insight into their conditions. The enterprise of the missionary may be exhausted before the situation is comprehended.

The home missionary enters into a heritage of methods and principles of work, the net results of centuries of experiment, and in cases of doubt he can appeal to his own feeling for a decision; but the foreign missionary must make his own experiments, and, after a careful study of the situation, develop his own principles and methods. In an alien land he cannot trust his spontaneous impulses and personal impressions of fitness, but he must rely exclusively on matured judgments based on personal observations. After a longer or shorter course of investigation and study, according to his opportunities and his native enterprise and patience, he draws his conclusions and formulates his plans. He naturally glides into the groove thus laboriously prepared, and is all the better satisfied to remain in it because it represents such thorough and careful consideration. Those who join him later, or become his successors, knowing the situation only as the results of his experience, readily settle into the same grooves. Such being the

case, the stimulus of outside criticism is quite as much needed abroad as at home. At the same time the Church at home will be profited by a discussion of advanced foreign missionary methods, since it will thus learn to sympathize with the efforts of the worker abroad to improve his methods, and to avoid hindering their successful application by undue cautiousness.

All this would be true even if there were no changes occurring in the conditions among which the work of the missionary is to be done, and the expediency of such discussions would be only a question of perfecting our knowledge of the physical, mental, moral, social, religious, political, and other affairs of the people among whom he labors. But beyond this it must be understood that the rapid development of our century is not confined to Christian lands, but is manifest among heathen nations as well. Although the history of Protestant missions extends but little over a century, it can be said to have an ancient and a modern epoch. The last fifty years have brought more changes in nearly every part of the world than did the three preceding centuries. In every part of the globe the essential working conditions of the missionary have been transformed during that time, and corresponding readjustments must be made in our policy and methods. These changes bring greater opportunities, which demand such a reconstruction of the disposition of forces as will assure the largest possible returns in the largest number of communities. They present new problems to which the old solutions will not fit, and which require a fresh consideration unbiased by conclusions previously won. They offer new conditions, which must be utilized, or to which plans and methods must be readapted. The very success of the past peremptorily demands that the ruling ideas, plans, and methods be enlarged and developed to fit the new surroundings and opportunities which give that success its highest meaning. A modest discussion, which shall sweep the whole field in a panoramic and suggestive way, cannot fail, therefore, in having some value, even if in some respects it should have only the suggestive value of error.

It has been well said that foreign missions are the outgrowth and expression of the ideas and spirit of the Church in Christian lands. It follows that any progress made at home should find a corresponding development in the foreign missionary

field. Indeed, it should find a freer and a more harmonious and symmetrical development, since the past has no such mortgage upon the present and the future there as it has here. Building up, with them, does not necessitate so much preliminary tearing down. The interests involved are not so complicated, nor the sacrifices of feeling and prejudices so great. We have a right to expect, therefore, a more rapid realization of many of our advanced ideas in the foreign field than at home. A careful study of the more notable progressive tendencies at home will reveal as fully, perhaps, as any other course of investigation, the path of needed progress abroad. While such an investigation may not throw light on every problem that perplexes the conscientious missionary, nor perhaps point out all the needed improvements, it certainly will emphasize the most important, and give them the sanction of the manifest leadings of the Spirit of God in the Church at home.

The importance of these tendencies has been realized by many missionaries, and they have made an earnest endeavor to reach the ends they seek. Hence many of these needed readjustments are already in progress in some of the mission fields, and the strongest advocates of all of them may be found among the missionaries themselves. The sanction of success which God has given to their experiments in these directions has proved that these strong tendencies are general orders from the great Captain for the whole army, at home and abroad.

In delightful contrast to the polemical intensity of former theological disputations, the Protestant Churches have learned to emphasize the cardinal doctrines of Christianity on which all evangelical Christians agree, and to manifest a charitable toleration toward differing views on nonessentials. A broader and more thorough knowledge has made evident the relative importance of Christian doctrines, and given to those worthy to lead their appropriate precedence. Loyalty to these kingly doctrines, rather than to any of their subordinates, is now the test of citizenship in the kingdom of our Lord. In the very nature of things, nowhere should this broad, liberal spirit find completer mastery and fuller expression than in the presence of the heathen. In the great conflict with the powers of paganism, all minor dissensions between Christians must be forgotten. Spec-

ulative theology, with its abstractions, like algebraic symbols empty of all real content, and many of them hardly more practicable than the theory of the fourth dimension of space, but cumbers the ground in the presence of the urgent concrete needs of the heathen sitting in the shadow of death. To emphasize the subjective doctrines of the "higher life," as is done by the Plymouth Brethren of the China Inland Mission, or to insist upon immersion as the only valid mode of baptism, as in the recent Baptist mission in Constantinople and Armenia, can be fruitful only of schism and unmitigated evil. It matters comparatively little whether the blood-poison of sin is a direct inheritance from Adam or due simply to an inherited predisposition. The concrete fact of sin, and its temporal and eternal results, is what concerns the missionary. Is the atonement best explained by the theory of Anselm, Grotius, or Bushnell, is a question of little importance compared with the satisfying truth that "we have redemption in the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of sin." The doctrine of the "perseverance of the saints" can mean nothing to the heathen until they have become subjects of salvation, and even then it were better to construe the phrase in a practical, rather than in a dogmatical, way. Whether election is unto faith or in view of faith may be an important question dogmatically, but its discussion will profit nothing in foreign missionary work.

To come down to more recent discussions, we may suspect that the problem of constructing a theodicy based on 1 Peter iii, 19, should be left exclusively to the schoolmen of Andover, and views, *pro* or *con*, should have no influence on a board of missions or their workers abroad. The heathen need the fundamental facts and vital principles of Christianity, not our theories. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," is a sufficient creed for the foreign missionary. The facts it suggests and motives it brings to bear, when applied by the Holy Spirit, are sufficient for the salvation of the heathen. When a few generations have passed away, and the meditative stage of their religious life is reached, they may be trusted to form theological systems of their own, which will be of all the greater value to them in the work of the Church that they will be conformed to their national genius.

The more civilized heathen will reach that stage comparatively soon, and others, less promising, may prove no less able to grapple with the mysteries of our faith than the present descendants of the savages who overran Europe fifteen hundred years ago and buried the civilization of the Roman Empire. Some of the races of the Orient will doubtless find other, and perhaps better, answers to the questions that have perplexed the Caucasian philosophers than have yet been given. Their points of view will be different, and will disclose relations between the doctrines of Christianity which now are unsuspected, just as in the cathedral at Munich from a certain point all the windows are completely hidden. Certainly when the Hindus—our cousins in the Orient—shall turn their philosophical profundity and dialectical acumen upon the facts of Christianity, a system of theology will be produced that will put our Occidental attempts to shame. The Greeks may be said to have solved the problems of theology proper; the Latins, those of anthropology; and the English and Germans, those of soteriology; may it not be the mission of some of the races now under our tutelage to solve those of eschatology, which now so vex the Church? The spectacles of the dead past do not distort their vision, and rob them of their fresh insight and immediate intuition, as they too often do ours in spite of all our efforts. The period of their spontaneous creative reflection should be permitted to accomplish its results unmolested, and not until the sobering critical reaction shall have set in should the history of past attempts in the same lines engage their serious attention. After their results have been thoroughly analyzed and critically compared with those previously obtained, another epoch of creative power may follow which shall crystallize in perfect forms doctrines that are now only vaguely discerned. The various race idiosyncrasies will become powerful factors in completing and rounding out perfectly the body of doctrine received by the Church universal. The one-sidedness produced by the idiosyncrasies of the Teutonic races will be corrected, and the final symbol of the Church's faith (if the earth will ever see a final symbol) will gain the symmetry that now is lacking.

The theological liberality, of which mention has been made, is preserved from degenerating into a shallow latitudinarianism

or indifferentism by its demand for the transformation of Christian doctrine into life and character. Not simply to know doctrines, but to feel them as concrete realities, and by assimilation to convert them into spiritual forces, is the demand of the age. It is only as knowledge is sublimated into experience that we recognize its value. To this practical tendency of the Christian Church at home the work abroad must be adjusted. Instruction in the Scriptures, in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and even in the learning of the Occident, will have its value, but this is not the end for which our missionaries have gone forth. A personal saving knowledge on the part of the heathen of the Lord Jesus Christ is the great object in view, and only as heathen attain this can missions claim success. No amount of social, mental, or merely moral improvement, valuable as it may be, will take the place of the new birth and the wakening of a new spiritual life. The impartation of this religious vitality by the Holy Spirit in co-operation with the work of the missionary is the definite end of foreign missions which the maze of means and methods should never be allowed to obscure.

Nor is this to be looked upon as a finality which shall crown a long course of preparatory education and culture, but as a result that may be expected comparatively soon. The long years of waiting for results, which so sorely tried the faith of missionaries like Judson and Morrison, were spent in establishing proper relations between themselves and the heathen about them. When once they had learned how to approach the natives properly, and more especially when the heathen had learned to trust them, the harvest began. It was their life, not their instruction, which prepared the way. A missionary from New Guinea writes: "In the early days of a mission like that of New Guinea, very little dependence can be placed on oral teaching. I believe strongly, more strongly now than ever, in the power of a consistent Christian life." When the missionary has an opportunity of breaking down the prejudices and suspicion of the natives against Christians, created by their commercial and even civil representatives, such as was afforded him by the famines in India and China, conversions follow by tens and hundreds and thousands. The rapidity with which conversions follow the work of native preachers establishes the fact beyond controversy. The noted Karen preacher, Quala, estab-

lished nine churches, with seven hundred and forty-one converts, among the Toungoo Karens during the first year of his labors among them. The same rapidity of results characterizes the labors of native preachers in Micronesia. The Gospel is so simple in its primary elements that very young children are often favored with most joyful and blessed experiences. The very simplicity and ignorance of the heathen makes them all the more docile and accessible to the Gospel. Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., so long secretary of the American Board, in his lectures before the Andover students in 1868 used the following language:

"The heathen know they are sinners; they have a conscience; and if boldly and affectionately approached by one whose own heart is full of the subject, and solemnly assured of their lost condition as sinners and of the free salvation offered them through the Lord Jesus Christ, experience has abundantly shown that there is no way so effectual as this of securing the aid of the Holy Spirit for their conversion. The Gospel may have direct access to the most debased heathen mind. Nothing necessarily precedes the simple declaration of salvation through the cross of Christ when it comes from lips that have been touched with a coal from off the altar of God."

Perhaps no one idea has done greater harm in mission work than that it is necessary to prepare the minds of the heathen by a long course of instruction before they can accept the Lord Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour. In many ways it has unhappily affected the methods and plans of missionaries to their detriment. It robs them of that expectant faith, eager and enthusiastic, which is so aggressive a power. No immediate results being expected, no measures are taken to secure them, or to provide for them should they appear. The schools and colleges for the education of the heathen youth may be made a temptation and a snare to the missionary, leading him to substitute intellectual inspirations and ambitions for the baptism of power from above, and the divine hunger for soul-saving. Savages are in danger of confounding Christianity with civilization in the form of scholastic education, æsthetic development, and merely outward propriety of life. That so many of our foreign workers have been scholarly men has made them all the more susceptible to the allurements of the educational as opposed to the evangelistic policy. On the one hand, it in-

volved less sacrifice, less contact with the repulsive aspects of the work, and on the other greater intellectual satisfaction and progress in culture. Purely pedagogical conceptions of the work begin to control, and unconsciously the making of Christians is subordinated to the making of scholars. Secularity cuts the aggressive missionary nerve, and the missionary degenerates into a mere instructor of human science. Studies in philology, history, or science, fresh and attractive materials for which lie all about him, engage his interest and time. The scientific results of missions, as recorded in the Ely volume, inspiring as they are in many respects, also wake the suspicion that they are the fruit of more than incidental observations and passing reflections. Heroic as must be the spirit of the missionary who makes all the sacrifices involved in leaving his native land to reside in the uttermost parts of the earth among the heathen, he is still human, and susceptible to all the influences which so often cripple the usefulness of the minister at home.

While a stirring of the soil is essential, and a fertilization sometimes may be necessary, nothing but weeds will grow unless the vital germs of the good seed be planted. A long course of preparatory training often defeats the purpose desired by robbing the truth of its freshness before the personal application is made. Moreover, the pride is stimulated by the new power and standing gained, and the heart is thus closed against spiritual truth. The distinguished missionary to the Choctaws, Dr. Kingsbury, after an experience of over forty years, gives the following testimony:

> With a few interesting exceptions, those who acquired the most knowledge of the English language seemed the farthest from embracing the Gospel and the least disposed to attend on the means of grace. They regarded themselves as elevated above their parents and the mass of their people.

Education truly brings power, but it may be a power for evil. On this point President Seelye's (of Amherst) remarks are worthy of serious consideration:

> If the missionary spends his time in teaching the ignorant to read, this acquisition may enable them to read the Bible and good books, it is true; but it is equally true that it may furnish them acquaintance also with books of another and contrary nature.

What these latter books are we may learn from the following statement of the "Indian Evangelical Review:"

Very few of even the best vernacular books are free from obscenity. Immoral books and pamphlets are obtained easily by the pupils in the schools and colleges, and circulate freely among them.

The works of our infidel philosophers and scientists, and of the more vulgar opponents of the Christian faith, are read with avidity. No department of the public library at Tokio, Japan, is so well supplied as that of infidel and materialistic literature. The blasphemous writings of Ingersoll are scattered broadcast, and are exerting a wider influence for evil abroad than they do at home. Hence the education given to many heathen youths only "sets them the more against us, and gives them a club to break our heads," to use the language of a speaker at the Allahabad Conference. Nowhere, perhaps, has the educational policy ruled more fully than in India and Japan, and nowhere does infidelity and materialism so mightily re-enforce paganism as in these lands. Not only the professedly neutral government schools, but even those under the charge of the missionaries, are often hot-beds of infidelity. One of the largest educational institutions under missionary control in India spent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars during thirty years and only made two converts. Many of the bitterest and most harmful enemies of Christianity in India are graduates of the mission schools and colleges. Some of them officiate at some of the most abominable altars of Hinduism. Rev. W. F. Bainbridge states, that one such graduate declared to him that "the religion of Jesus answered very well for college speculations, but now he had come out into life, and must earn his bread." Said another, who could speak twelve languages, "There is nothing in the world so detestable to me as Christianity." A great majority of some schools come out confirmed atheists, scoffing alike at their native religion and Christianity. To both missionary and pupil, therefore, the educational policy is dangerous. These facts do not prove that the heathen should not be educated, but that they ought to be thoroughly converted before they are given the higher education; for it is as true of intellectual culture as of any thing else, that if we "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all these things will be added unto us." On the one hand the

exercise of living faith is easier for a simple-minded, uneducated person, and on the other conversion is often just the beginning of the intellectual life. Not education preparatory to conversion, therefore, but conversion before education, should be the idea. The leading truths of the Christian religion once impressed as realities, the whole mental development is vitalized and quickened, and harmful perversions prevented. Evangelism first and education afterward is peculiarly the hope of the heathen world.

In looking again at the Christian Church we are struck by the growing tendency to minify the importance and sanctity of the various forms of Church polity which obtain in the Protestant Churches. Our Episcopalian brother may believe quite as firmly in the reality of the apostolical succession as formerly, but he is not quite so apt to reject as unworthy all other forms of Church government. Nor does the Congregationalist insist as vehemently as in other years that his polity alone has scriptural precedent and divine sanction. The Convocation of Canterbury is to have a third chamber, made up from the laity. The stated secretaries of the Congregational Home Missionary Society incidentally exercise not a few episcopal functions. Not denunciation but appreciation, and even appropriation, is the order of the day. This spirit of mutual appreciation is also breaking down the less honorable walls of division between denominations more nearly related in polity and creed. While the "Church consciousness," or *esprit de corps*, so valuable in the sight of denominational leaders, is increasing rather than diminishing, it is applied to aggressive work for God rather than as formerly to combats with neighboring denominations. The unsuccessful attempt of Count Zinzendorf to found an interdenominational society among the Germans of Pennsylvania in 1742 was prophetic of the numerous union enterprises now so powerful and useful among us. The idea of co-operation among the Churches is rapidly developing, and the future is big with promise of organic union among related denominations.

If this growing tendency among us is fruitful of good, how much more valuable would it not be among the small and scattered squads of Christian workers in foreign lands? Every argument in favor of interdenominational effort and organic

union at home is multiplied manifold in force when transferred to the foreign field. What is confusion here in the multiplicity of denominations, whose differences can scarcely be distinguished by the non-expert eye, becomes confusion worse confounded when our divided missionaries are met in heathen lands by the almost equally divided workers from America, Great Britain, and the Continent. The results are illustrated by the fact that there are no less than thirteen different Presbyterian organizations doing missionary work in India. Rev. Dr. Chamberlain, a prominent missionary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church of America in India, in an able address delivered in New York last January, in stating the following facts, gave a graphic picture of their relations:

> Alas, they are not united. Judah vexes Ephraim, and Ephraim envies Judah. In one up-country station in India, which I have repeatedly visited, where one mission could well do all the work, the representatives of two different branches of the Presbyterian family, both represented in the late Belfast council, have been working in unseemly rivalry. Members of the one Church, publicly excommunicated after careful judicial process by its ecclesiastical courts, were received to the Lord's Supper in the other without a question, and rival services were held in the same street, so near that the singing in the one sometimes prevented the congregation in the other from hearing the preaching of their own minister.

An organic union of all the Presbyterian missions, and of all the Methodist, all the Baptist, and so on through the groups of denominations in each country occupied, is earnestly demanded. The work would be better organized. The expense of management would be greatly diminished. The division of labor would be more exact, and so yield better results. Improper rivalry would be largely avoided, and the moral, or rather immoral, effect of the present unedifying church differences upon the outside heathen world counteracted. That such an organic union is feasible is proved by abundant experience in Australia, Japan, and China. The four Presbyterian organizations working in Japan have united their work, and the "United Church of Christ in Japan" stands as a monument to their sagacity and large-mindedness. Native ministers are trained in the common theological seminary at Tokio, in whose faculty representatives of the several organizations at home unite. The

testimony of Dr. Chamberlain, quoted before, is conclusive with reference to the union at Amoy (China), where all the Presbyterian missions of England, Scotland, and America, are working in thorough union. He says:

> Missionaries at other stations on the coast intimated to me that the unusual success of the Amoy missions was because they presented so united a front without dissensions.

This large measure of success has opened the eyes of the other missionaries of China, and other like unions are forming. The General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church has delegated Dr. Chamberlain, the earnest champion of the organic union of all the Presbyterian missions of India, to visit these missions and confer with them in regard to the union of all in one confederated Presbyterian Church of India. It has also been favorably considered by Presbyterian Synods in Canada and Scotland, and by the General Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It is to be hoped that this powerful movement among the Presbyterians will inspire other Christian bodies to emulate their example and adopt the same policy. The Methodist Churches, especially, should be drawn together by their common history, spirit, doctrines, and methods. Their family resemblance is even greater than that of the Presbyterians. In Japan the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church in Canada, the Wesleyan Methodists of England, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Evangelical Association, ought to be united, forming the Methodist Church of Japan. The small missions of the last four named Churches would succeed far better if carried on in connection with the more extensive work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, saving the cost in time and money of independent operations. A union of Methodist missions in China and India is also both very desirable and easily feasible. What changes has the diverse institutions and manners of our North and South made in the Gospel, or even in the fundamental ideas of Methodism, that the Chinese and Hindus should be perplexed by distinguishing between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? And when they are taught the reason of the separation, will it be altogether creditable to our Christian faith? While difference of nationality might possibly excuse to the heathen the division

between the English and American Methodists, a union that ignored these differences would prove in a way they could not fail to appreciate that the Christ whom Methodism preaches is a reality and a power. The United Methodist Churches of India, China, and Japan would give Methodism three national Churches of no mean proportions, with an influence greatly exceeding the total of their divided strength.

These organic relations in the field among the missionaries need not conflict with their relations to the several home boards which support them. That they would be a little less directly under the control of the home authorities may be true, but that certainly would be no calamity. Such relations could be kept up between the several home Churches and given portions of the field as would still appeal to the sense of responsibility and ownership sufficiently to awaken the enthusiasm of the several denominations at home. Our mission boards have no difficulty in interesting subordinate organizations, such as mission bands, Sunday-schools, and the like, in the support of specific enterprises over which these organizations expect no control. A larger application of this principle will solve the problem of the support of these united Churches. What the Presbyterians have done and are doing surely the Methodists can do equally well. And if organic union at home should be hastened a little by the organic union abroad, there would be only additional cause for congratulation.

One of the chief advantages of this co-operation and union is the opportunity it gives the native Christians to organize an independent homogeneous Church. In the development of the organization of this they should be largely left to the guidance of their national genius, even as the Gentile Churches in apostolic times were emancipated from the conservative and narrowing influences of the Jewish Church by the aggressive liberal mindedness of Paul, and permitted to work out a Church life of their own. On this point the words of Dr. Christlieb have great value:

> It may appear evident, after a time, that one heathen people, according to its whole natural disposition and history, its customs and habits of life, may have an inner predisposition for this, another for that, evangelical form of worship and constitution, while for a third, in the course of time, an entirely new ecclesiastical form or combination of forms may be developed.

If the organizing instinct is strong in a people, by all means let them work out a close Episcopalian organization. If individualism is the ruling instinct, let them organize on the Congregational basis. If hybrid forms should ensue, combining elements from the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian polities, our artistic preference for the pure, historical forms should not lead us to condemn them if they best meet the needs of the given people. It was Paul's policy to form local churches under the charge of its own elders, as far as this was possible. Acts xiv, 23. Native churches, having competent native pastors, should be left to manage their own affairs as soon as it is at all possible. They will make mistakes and commit costly blunders, of course, but that is the usual price the world over of valuable experience. Missionaries are repeating in our own day the mistakes of Columbanus and his associates and successors among the Germans in the sixth century, making the mission house the center of all religious and mental life, instead of casting the natives upon their own resources and building up a self-contained, independent, native Church. Variations from English or American church life are not necessarily weaknesses or defects; indeed, they may represent real improvements. They certainly do prove that the vital principle of Christianity is clothing itself in a national garb that will all the more certainly give it access to the hearts of the unconverted. That the Christianity of different nations will display various externalities, and even differ in the particular doctrines emphasized, will not matter as long as its vital force is manifest. It is the high glory of Christianity that it is cosmopolitan in spirit, and able to enter into and adapt itself to national idiosyncrasies and peculiarities without losing its value.

Organic union between the divergent types among our denominations is at present not only not feasible, but also not desirable. Experience has proved that honorable denominational rivalry, sweetened by Christian charity, is a valuable stimulus to missionary activity. It has done the Baptists good to have the Methodists enter Burmah; and in Japan the same aggressive people are proving an inspiring spur in the sides of the Presbyterians. As in England and America, the gentle rivalry has led to greater progressiveness in methods and more

aggressive enterprise. If the pure gold of missionary motives be occasionally adulterated with the copper of emulation, whatever we may think of it in an ideal way, the alloy, unless the proportion of the baser metal be too great, will prove even more serviceable for practical use than the pure metal.

There is room for interdenominational organization. The American Presbyterian Press establishment at Shanghai, China, patronized as it is by all the other missionary societies in that field, suggests a field that is open to union enterprise. Medical dispensaries and hospitals, asylums and schools of various kinds, would produce larger results for a given outlay under union management. Interdenominational councils for interchange of experience and methods, for a more systematic division of the work, for settling interdenominational differences, for formulating interdenominational laws, and for other purposes of a like character, should be organized in every field. The neglect of this fraternal intercourse has led to the repetition of costly mistakes which a knowledge of the experience of other missionaries might have prevented. A uniform policy in the treatment of such questions as caste, polygamy, slavery, and minor social institutions and practices, is very desirable in many countries. An apportionment of the unoccupied parts of the world among the missionary societies of Protestant Christendom, as suggested by Rev. A. T. Peirson, D.D., and a systematic division of each land among the denominations occupying it, would insure the more systematic and thorough evangelization of the world, and prevent the friction which now sometimes occurs in the more promising fields. By these and other methods, and by the exercise of the charity which the Gospel that the missionaries preach demands, all the evil results of denominationalism could be avoided without diminishing in the least its stimulus.

Parallel with this tendency toward co-operation and unity is the growing liberality with reference to methods of work. The false mechanical biblicism which must find minute biblical precedent for every method, and the superstitious subordination of church work to custom and tradition, are breaking away, and the God of to-day is permitted to put the sanction of success upon methods adapted to the needs of to-day. The church edifice is no longer the only shrine, nor the clergy the sole

stewards, of the divine mysteries. The laity are asserting their rights as members of the universal priesthood of the saints. The self-assertion of the laity in mission work is of comparatively recent date, but in the zenana, medical, and educational work they have already done great things. The importance of enlarging these enterprises need hardly be urged, but the profit, in general, of increasing the proportion of lay to clerical workers seems not yet to be duly apprehended. The value of Christian colonies in which every trade and business shall be represented has never been sufficiently tested. If administered with proper care, and the needful disinterestedness, the moral and religious backing of such a body of Christian believers might tend to counteract the influence of the antagonistic commercial and civil representatives of Christian nations, and greatly strengthen the hands of the ordained missionary. The influence and spiritual power exerted by Gen. A. C. Litchfield, Consul-General to India for the United States, and still more recently by Lord and Lady Dufferin, are standing illustrations of the value of lay-workers abroad.

But this tendency should also find a fuller expression in the use of native preachers and laborers. The 10,274 native helpers connected with American missions show that the lesson is being slowly learned. But cannot our missionary authorities make more rapid progress in the study? There are to-day fewer ordained natives than ordained Americans engaged in our missions. There are only four native helpers of every kind for each American missionary. The policy of extreme caution in appointing native preachers as pastors obtains too largely among our missionaries every-where. Judging by home ministerial standards, and exaggerating the weaknesses of the native material, missionaries have been very slow to trust natives with pastoral responsibilities. The American Board found it necessary to send deputations to India in 1854, and to the Sandwich Islands in 1862, to induce the missionaries there to develop a native ministry, which they seemed very loath to do. The rapid development of a native pastorate has been so thoroughly approved by experience that it is amazing how backward missionaries are to accept the policy. When the European missionaries of Madagascar were driven out, native preachers arose who had tenfold the success granted previously to the European workers.

When the French seized the island of Tahiti, in 1842, there was not a single native ordained pastor on the island, although thirty years had passed since the people had been converted. The English missionaries being driven out, the ordination of natives became a necessity. The results are given by Dr. Tidman, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who says:

> After twenty years of French misrule, notwithstanding all the influences of Popery on the one hand and of brandy and wine on the other, there were living under the instruction and influence of these native pastors a greater number of church members than they had aforetime.

Two missions were located in Foochow (China) at about the same time, and with about the same resources. Fourteen years afterward the Methodist mission had accomplished ten times as much as the other, because at the instance of a visiting bishop the corps of native workers had been rapidly enlarged and pastoral responsibilities placed upon them. Some of the most brilliant results in Japan have been achieved by native preachers. Polynesia has largely been Christianized by natives sustained by native missionary contributions. The missions of the United Brethren in Christ, in Africa, are almost wholly served by natives, and are recognized as the most successful on the West Coast by the Freedmen's Aid Society of England, and those two societies are now in active co-operation. The Niger mission, under the charge of the colored Bishop Crowther, is manned exclusively by Africans. In a letter to the Bishop of Jamaica, written in 1867, the Rev. Henry Venn, author of a biography of the Catholic missionary, Xavier, and one of the highest authorities on missionary subjects, writes:

> It may be said to have been only lately discovered in the science of missions, that when the missionary is of another and superior race than his converts, he must not attempt to be their pastor; they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progress in spiritual attainments. The same congregation, under competent native pastors, would become more self-reliant, and their religion would be of a more manly, home character.

Says the Rev. A. O. Forbes, secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association:

> The greater the trust and confidence placed in the natives, the greater their faithfulness. Those who have been sent to foreign

work, being thrown entirely on their own responsibility, have developed into some of the noblest Christians and best workers the board has.

With an unstudied adaptability to native feelings, prejudices, and point of view—with a simplicity and directness of ideas and speech after which the sophisticated missionary strives in vain—and with the enthusiasm and ardor of a new experience and fresh, unhackneyed ideas—the native preacher and lay-worker are the key to the position, the hope of the heathen world.

It goes without saying, that training schools must be provided to fit these natives for their work. This need has been recognized as clearly by those who refuse to ordain native pastors, and have used native helpers only in the most subordinate capacities, as by the more progressive, and there is no need to insist upon it at length. It is, however, important to urge that this training shall really subserve the desired ends. Not the scholastic ideals of our home educational work, but the careful fitting of the worker for his specific task, should govern. Not general scholarship, but power in leading his countrymen to accept the religion of Christ, must be the end in view. Even in regard to teachers, a missionary writes Dr. Christlieb as follows:

> For the first few years of a mission, a thoroughly converted young man taken out of the congregation, of but imperfect culture, but with a decidedly Christian spirit and a good understanding, is of more value to the school than one who is well trained but not thoroughly converted.

The danger of miseducating the native candidates for the ministry is illustrated by the words of the venerable Dr. Anderson:

> The native preachers were sometimes too highly taught in secular knowledge for the incipient stages of the work. Raised too far above the general level of intelligence among their people, they longed for more cultivated hearers than they found in the villages, and shrank from pastorates in obscure places.

The true training will seek rather to cultivate than to weaken all the bonds of social and intellectual sympathy which unite them to their countrymen that do not conflict with loyalty to Christ. Dr. Christlieb enjoins that:

The native Christian should, as far as is consistent with his Christian training, remain a full and entire member of his people, even as to his mode of life, for only then can his congregation support him.

To lead them to adopt Occidental dress and mode of life is to rob them of influence and power. To insist upon our literary and rhetorical canons in public address and literary production is to handicap them in their labors. In general, whatever denationalizes them strips them of the very elements that make them powerful.

But this native ministry should be as nearly as possible supported by the native churches, and as little as may be by the missionary societies. Else there will be established a parasitism which Dr. Yates, a Baptist missionary who spent forty years in China, calls "the bane, yea the dry-rot, of modern missions." "Rice Christians" may serve to swell the reports of work done, but the whole brood of such are only a harm to our native churches.

Rev. Dr. Houston, Secretary of the Southern Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, himself a successful missionary in China for many years, writes as follows:

> The native preacher who is supported by foreign money is necessarily handicapped in his testimony for Christ. His heathen countrymen think that he speaks because he is paid to speak.

While the subsidy system cannot in all cases be at once abandoned, it should be sparingly applied, as dangerous and liable to perversion. The policy of self-support, while it should not be applied in an extreme way, yields the best results, as Dr. Christlieb has reason to remark:

> In fact, the cause of the extraordinary results obtained in the South Sea missions lies to a great extent in this truly American idea of educating the native Christians to self-support.

The attitude of the Christian Church toward the temporal welfare of men as seen in its humane and charitable undertakings, in its interest in educational, scientific, and civil affairs, in its study of the social problems presented by our complex civilization, should be imitated abroad. Civilization will naturally develop from conversion, but that development will need careful direction.

Both physical and mental degradation react disastrously on Christian character. Its higher forms imperiously demand a symmetrical development of the whole man. It will become the duty of the missionary, therefore, not only to seek the spiritual, but also at length the mental and physical, elevation of the people among whom he labors.

Says Dr. Anderson on this point:

> Without education it is not possible for mission churches to be in any proper sense self-governed. The common school, therefore, is a necessity among the degraded heathen, to help elevate the converts, and make the village church an effective agency.

But the upward movement must be a natural, healthy development of the old life, not the mechanical introduction of a new life. All old manners and customs, civil, social, and intellectual, which are compatible with Christianity, and neither physically, mentally, nor morally detrimental, should be deliberately retained and made the basis of the new Christian life. Bishop Patterson insists that there should be change only in "that which is incompatible with the simplest form of teaching and life." If Japanese art could prove such a stimulus to our artists and decorators, may there not be other elements in their strange civilization equally stimulating and refreshing? An Oriental prostration is not stranger or more ungraceful to us than is a Parisian bow to a peasant of the Black Forest. The words of Bishop Patterson are only too true, as he writes: "I have for years thought that we seek in our missions a great deal too much to make English Christians." The educational ambition has been individualistic and not national, and while individuals have been raised to a highly civilized state, they do not lift the organic national life, but are separated from it. This impatience of results which concentrates its forces upon the individual rather than the masses is unfortunate. Rev. W. F. Bainbridge testifies:

> I have seen few sights in heathen lands more pitiable than native young men and women educated out of their sphere. They cannot endure their own homes, nor are they welcome to those of foreigners. They can neither command salary, nor marry so as to support the manner of life to which they have become accustomed in the mission schools. What can they do? I fear almost a majority go to the bad.

Speaking of the educational work in another country, at another time, he remarks:

> How can nine tenths of the youth from the Christian families of India spend years in some of these grand school palaces, far better than the average of our own colleges and seminaries, and then return with any measure of contentment to their own mud hovels, where there are no chairs, or tables, or bedsteads, and no ornamentation save a few daubs of whitewash upon the dingy walls?

This higher education produces not the noble discontent which inspires to higher attainments, but the acrid dissatisfaction which corrodes character. But these unfortunate results are not the necessary consequence of all education. False ideals, false methods, are alone to blame. Our missionary teachers have been building the superstructure before the foundations were laid. To have moral value, the higher education must rest upon primary instruction among the masses. Not in the college or scientific institute in the great centers of population, but in the village school, where the populace are taught, should education do its most helpful work. Instruction in practical branches, which will be of value in their daily life and give them appreciable advantages in getting a livelihood, should be here given. Manual training would be a valuable adjunct to the present system, and industrial schools could be established with good results in many places. Capt. J. A. Lewis, United States Consul, resident of Sierra Leone, Africa, in his book on "Missionaries and Missions," insists that

> Too much importance cannot be attached to the labor department, for this renders them fit to do something in their own country and among their own people. They need knowledge that is useful rather than ornamental, and that they can apply to the every-day life of their surroundings.

Rev. D. F. Wilberforce, principal of the training school for native preachers at the Shaingay Mission on the west coast, himself a native African, in his book on "Sherbro and the Sherbros," remarks on this point:

> If you would benefit Africa, and bring about the conditions necessary to make a people prosperous, train our young people in the industrial branches. The African is not insensible to personal comforts, and when properly instructed in agriculture and industrial pursuits, he will desire to live as a converted and

industrious being; will have better farms, build better homes (for in civilized localities splendid buildings have already been erected), and the battle will then have been well-fought; for Christianity can thrive better, and take deeper root in a soil so prepared.

As fast as they can assimilate them, new arts and industries, new forms of manufactures, new methods of business, new agricultural plans and appliances, can be introduced. Fully as valuable as the formal training school in these practical branches will be the presence of a Christian colony which shall illustrate both the value and the best methods in these lines, and so instruct and inspire the natives to seek a more civilized life. These Christian mechanics, merchants, and manufacturers would not only instruct and direct the heathen, but open new opportunities and avenues for their activities. These laymen need cost the missionary authorities nothing, as in almost all cases, if not in every case, they can support themselves. The observation of Rev. Mr. Bainbridge leads him to remark:

It would be well for pious farmers and mechanics and tradesmen to improve the opportunities of setting examples and superintending industries in their own line among these poor and perplexed converts from heathenism. Rich blessings from God would rest upon manual labor consecrated to the cause of Christ among distressed native Christians in foreign lands.

Rev. D. F. Wilberforce, the scholarly and brilliant native, whose book has already been quoted, says:

Only a comparatively few can be brought under the direct influence of our schools. By far the greater number are beyond this influence and must be reached in some other way. I can conceive of no plan that would prove so effective as that of planting Christian colonies in various portions of the country, so that the masses as well as those under our instruction may be benefited by this constant contact with men and women from civilized or Christian countries. More can be learned from this object-lesson as to the order of a Christian home or family life and various methods of doing business than from any instructions. The advantage to the country and people arising from this plan is next to being brought to this country or Europe. *

* While there can be no question about the need for instruction in the arts of industry as a measure for Christianizing a semi-barbarous people, the experiments that have been made in that direction have not generally been so successful as to justify the undertaking of that work by our missionaries, on any considerably extensive scale. Our first missionary work on the Columbia River was

The need of progress in the lines here surveyed, and many others for whose treatment space is lacking, is emphasized by the rapid development of Satan's foreign missions—the sale of rum, the introduction of the vices of civilization, the rapacity and injustice of nominally Christian governments, and by the recent extraordinary opening to the Christian missionary of all the nations of the earth. So great are the forces to be conquered, so vast is the field to be occupied, that any waste of resources, any blind adherence to plans and methods that experience has proved inadequate or inefficient, would be criminal as well as foolish. The American genius for invention and adapting means to ends which has done so much for industrial pursuits, ought to be applied to our missionary methods until they have reached the highest possible adaptation to the ends sought. There is a science and an art of missions, and both ought to be developed until the largest and best results are secured. Abroad, as well as at home, the Gospel herald must study "to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii, 15.

essentially that of a Christian colony; and it failed utterly. Our Liberia mission has been essentially that of a colony, and as a mission to the natives it has accomplished very little. John Wesley's mission in Georgia was of that kind, and like them it failed. Bishop Taylor's "self-supporting" missions in Africa propose to repeat the experiment; and though the dangers of failure in them seems less than in either of those referred to, it may be well to await the outcome before extending the system.—ED. *Meth. Rev.*

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

NOTES OF A TRUE CHURCH.

In the "Forum" for June, 1886, Bishop Huntington, of Western New York, appears in a kind of spiritual autobiography, though written in the third person, which is largely confessional, somewhat apologetical, and especially assertive, though not offensive in any of these particulars. The sketch might have been entitled "A Search for a Church," such as should respond to the felt wants of the soul in respect to one's confessed obligations to God, to his own salvation, and to the duties that arise out of the relations in which he is found. With the narrative generally, which is both interesting and instructive, and especially well-written, we are not now concerned, but only with what is said on the topic named in our heading.

The ideal Church for which the writer was searching, it was assumed, should be distinguished by three invariable signs, without either of which any association, however excellent in other respects, must be fatally defective as not being conformed to the divine model, nor fitted to respond to the wants of man's spiritual nature and to the services which the Church is designed to render. These notes of the ideal Church, which it is assumed were realized in the times of the apostles, and are indeed still realized in all things essential at the present time, having never been wholly interrupted, are three in form and number: "1. God in the Holy Scriptures; 2. God in one kingdom, set up as he declared by Jesus Christ, having laws, a covenant, a door of entrance, a history, and a continuous common life; 3. God in the testimony of his Spirit in the spirit and mind of men made in his image." A religious body combining all these conditions the writer thinks that, after passing from the Puritanical orthodoxy through various shades of Unitarian liberalism, falsely so-called, he found in the Church of which, in middle life, he became a member by its appointed rites of initiation, and successively thereafter a "deacon," a "priest," and a "bishop."

Of these "tests," the first simply recognizes the Holy Scriptures as divine in some form and degree, which is the attitude occupied by the Anglican Church since the Reformation, which perhaps as correctly as any body apprehends the true character and relations of the written word. The third "test" recognizes the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the human consciousness, the same in substance, no doubt, with that which the old divines called "the assurance of faith," and which in Methodist terminology we call the "witness of the Spirit." Both of these, the first and the third, may be accepted in their evident meaning, but without assenting in advance to such uses of and inferences from them as might

perhaps be made. Our concern in this writing is with the second, to the words of which, at least, we can also heartily assent.

The divine origin of the Church, which is the "kingdom of God," is assumed. Of this divine institution Christ is the founder and the perpetual ruler; and in this general statement all that is further declared in the "test" we are considering, is included by natural implication. If there is a kingdom, there must of course be laws; and if it is to be constituted as a free state, into which each subject is to be initiated, it must have its covenant, offered and entered into, the giving and acceptance of which, in due form, constitutes the "door of entrance" into its fellowship. So, also, since the Church was ordered in its specifically Christian form more than eighteen hundred years ago, and still exists, that fact implies that it has a history and a continuous being.

These "tests," so carefully expressed and enunciated with so much seriousness by the good bishop, though of the highest importance in themselves, are only commonplaces of Christian beliefs. As statements of the consensus of orthodox Christendom they are worthy of perpetual recognition as *criteria* of churchhood, and the things by which the family of God on earth is differentiated from all other associations. Accordingly, every evangelic society of Protestant believers will accept these tests as distinctive of their own character, and yet there may be very wide differences of views among those who assent to the same verbal statements; for it is impossible by any form of words to accurately represent the conceptions of the speaker or writer to the hearer or reader.

In respect to the kingdom of God, that is, the Church of Christ among men, the Papists say, that it is governed by a single individual, who is Christ's vicegerent, and also infallible in his official acts and utterances. The Prelatists say, that the government of the Church is in the hands of self-perpetuating oligarchy, known as the order of bishops; while the theory of Protestantism is, that the headship of the Church is in a present Christ, ruling by his word and Spirit and providence, and that all his subjects are brethren, each having equal rights and privileges. In their vocabulary such terms and phrases as "laws," and "covenants," and "doors of entrance," have quite another meaning than in that of either the Papists or the Prelatists. They are as thoroughly "Churchmen" as any others, but they locate the elements and functions of churchhood in the whole body of believers, who in their organic action are competent to shape the details of its government and to indicate its personal administrators. And they rely for both the good order and the perpetuity of the Church on the abiding presence and directing energy of the immanent and ever active Christ.

The notion of the oneness of the Church supposes the existence of some one ruling element, or more, in which that unity abides, so that wherever that or those elements are found there is the true Church. And it is because of a lack of agreement in respect to what those elements are, that the Christian world is divided into a multitude of sects. Some find this unity really, if not exclusively, in external conditions. The "laws"

which express its entity and selfhood are conceived to be those which appoint its ordinances and designate its methods of continuous activity. Its sacraments in the hands of its divinely ordered hierarchy are the media and ligaments by which the members of Christ's mystical body are joined to their Head; and although the salvation of the Gospel originated with Christ, yet it is conveyed to mankind through a self-perpetuating body of men, and by means of certain external ordinances. Another class, while accepting and emphasizing the idea of the Church's unity, and heartily assenting to all that is claimed for it in the "tests" given above, still insist, first of all, and always, on "the unity of the Spirit," manifested in personal spiritual life and experience; and this they consider the sufficient *criteria* of the oneness of those who together constitute the mystical body of Christ, united in his name, by the power of a common and spiritually transforming faith. The Church so constituted must be continuous so long as the smallest remnant of the sacred seed continues; and because of the conquering power of the divine word and Spirit the work is destined to be perpetual. The personal constituents of Christ's Church, in the full sense, are such by virtue of a spiritual union with their Head; and they can be certainly known only by himself. And wherever two or three such persons are joined together in Christian fellowship, with whom Christ is sure to be present, there is the Church. The Church is not the creature of its own ordinances; but wherever it subsists in its vital reality it is competent to originate out of itself, by virtue of the indwelling Spirit and the present and efficient headship of Christ, all things needful for its organic completeness. The apostolical character is realized by the presence of the Spirit, and it is made manifest by its work of spiritual healing and upbuilding. The tests of genuine churchhood are, the doing of the work committed to the Church by its head, preaching repentance, leading men to Christ, healing the sinsick, casting out the demons of lust and sinful passions, and quickening the spiritually dead by the power of regenerating grace.

Though not absolutely necessary, it may still be expedient, for the sake of good order and as a protection against abuses, that churches and ministers shall be constituted and recognized according to properly ascertained methods, in respect to which the conditions of historical continuity and general acceptance of methods should not be disregarded. But if in any case, and for any cause, these are not available, the Church so situated is abundantly competent to ordain and bring into practical effectiveness its own methods of procedure. It may also be desirable that the churches of a given province or locality should become associated for mutual help and directions, yet not so as to interfere with the liberties of the personally associated body of believers.

As such associated persons, themselves souls renewed by the Holy Spirit, are the constituent elements of local or particular churches—congregations of faithful men—so these are the constituents of the larger, the Church universal, the "holy catholic Church" of the Apostles' Creed, which reaches through all lands and continues to all times. It spreads

without dividing, and continues without wasting; each part contributes to the common strength, and the progress of its affairs is perpetually accumulating larger resources. To the merely philosophical observer there may seem to have been times of retrogradation and decay, but manifestly in every age since our Lord ascended and sat down at the right hand of the Father, "from thence expecting until his enemies shall be made his footstool," there has been growth rather than decay. As with Israel in the days of Elijah, so with the spiritual Israel in the darkest times of the prevalence of heathenish superstitions in the outward Church, there always remained a faithful seed; and the germs of spiritual life lived on and gathered strength, awaiting the spring-time of hope, which was reserved in the divine purpose. At no time were there wanting more than the seven thousand who kept the faith in the midst of the darkness, and who walked with undefiled garments among the abounding pollutions. Although all the conditions of the organic Church may have become base by reason of their profanation to the vilest purposes, the spiritual life was still preserved in humble and faithful souls, and the communion of saints was maintained in obscure and secret places. By these the historical Church was perpetuated, even when the hierarchy which had usurped the holy places had become the synagogue of Satan.

But, after all, the living Church must perpetually renew its own credentials by its unceasing activities and their fruits. The prophetic promise, "The Lord shall send forth the rod of his strength out of Zion," and Christ's own assurance that he would himself accompany his apostles "always, even to the completion of the Gospel age," by their realized results in the salvation of souls and in the upbuilding of the truth, is the one ever-present and sure test of genuine churchhood.

The final and incontestable proof that any given Church or ministry is really of God, must be sought for in the fact whether or not God owns them, and attests his approval by the gift of the Spirit and by using them as instruments for bringing men to himself. To churches and ministers may be applied the same tests that we are taught to apply to individuals—we may know them by their fruits. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The fruit is the criterion by which to determine the character of the tree, and not the tree that of the fruit. It is always safe to judge, in whatever relates to the Church, by Christ's own tests, and as he recognized casting out devils in his name as a sufficient proof of discipleship, so the manifestations of saving power among associated Christian bodies is the best possible proofs that they have God's favor, which is itself enough. Only the Holy Ghost can save men from sin; and his work, wherever and through whomsoever wrought, attests its own divinity; and any body of believers, among whom he thus manifests his power, may be safely accepted as a branch of the living Vine. These are the signs of genuine churchhood, and having found these our search may cease; without them all other conditions are insufficient. The Church is a living organism, a spiritual entity, and much more than can be determined by any outward forms or conditions.

THE BEST TRAINING FOR OUR MINISTRY.

When a class stands seeking admission to one of our Conferences no questions are asked with regard to study in any educational institution; but if it is an average class, the probability is that the majority of its members have never been in college, that three fourths have had no instruction in theology in any school, and that not more than one tenth have completed both a college and a theological course. This would not be strange if the Church and Conference welcoming these young ministers were hostile or indifferent to higher education. But the very opposite is true. In an average Conference the majority are the devoted friends of that education. By toil and self-sacrifice they have helped to establish and build up academies and colleges, and they are the loyal patrons of theological schools. The representatives of such institutions are cordially welcomed and attentively heard. Commendatory reports concerning them are favorably received, and resolutions adopted pledging hearty support and urging the young people of the Church to attend them. Individual members of the Conference are often the earnest advocates of the highest training; and many who never enjoyed its advantages urge their younger brethren, by all means, to secure it. Taking a broader outlook upon the Church, we find the bishops, the Church press, and the General Conference either warmly supporting or definitely commending thorough intellectual preparation for the ministry. It may be confidently asserted that the expressed conviction of our Church now favors a liberal preparatory training for our ministry.

It seems also beyond doubt that there is in the Church a great and increasing demand for thoroughly educated ministers. There are, and probably always will be, here and there, brilliant self-educated men. There are, and are likely always to be, some men whom all the advantages of the schools cannot save from dismal failure. Piety, common-sense, and natural ability are essential to success, and scholastic training is not. All this is assumed as self-evident. But it seems almost equally clear that many ministers of piety and ability are cramped and crippled, and fall far below their highest possible success and usefulness simply because they have not had a liberal theological training. Yet untrained young men flock into our Conferences, while bishops, presiding elders, and other leading ministers and laymen testify that in all parts of our Church there is a crying need of young ministers who are consecrated, efficient, and educated. We are freely told that it is hard to find men to fill the more important and difficult places. Surely this is not because we lack men of ability and devotion, but because so many truly able and devoted men have, for some reason, not had the training required to fit them for these more difficult and commanding positions.

One marked indication of this is the fact that important appointments are given to recent graduates of the theological schools and colleges. However the friends of higher education may deplore the strain to which men

of small practical experience may be thus put, the evidence borne to the urgent demand for educated men is clearly apparent. Students are even tempted away from their studies by positions offered on the strength of their partial preparation. Another striking proof of this growing demand is seen in the large number of those who, already in the active work, and with families to support, realize their deficiencies, recognize reasonable demands which they are unable to meet, and, by heroic effort, break away from strong ties, brave a measure of humiliation, and enter some college or theological school to obtain, if possible, thus late, the education whose lack they keenly feel. One is constrained to ask why they did not earlier learn their needs, when they were free from family cares, when their memories were more retentive, and their mental habits were less firmly fixed. Did the great Church to which they are so loyal, do her whole duty by them when they pledged their lifelong service at her altars? Did some older brethren unwittingly do them a great wrong by some words of counsel given or withheld? Instances of this belated preparation are significantly numerous. A well-known institution has had between thirty and forty in a single year. The trials and heroism of these devoted men urge an observer to cry out in behalf of their probable successors. But the great fact thus illustrated is a higher motive for this advocacy. It is evidently the judgment of the Church that there should be a large increase in the number of candidates for our ministry who are liberally trained for their work.

A glance over our history reveals the growth of this conviction and demand in favor of a thorough ministerial education, and shows that it is in harmony with that loyalty to the law of adaptation which has ever marked the Methodist Church. All who are familiar with our history know that we have passed rapidly, in our twelve decades, through great changes in the conditions of our work. These have not caused any noticeable variations in our doctrines or spirit, but have wrought so great a revolution in external things, and in methods, as to raise sometimes an unwarranted charge of disloyalty to our principles. It was fidelity to the spirit of the past which led to these changes in the letter. The accidental was varied in order to preserve that which was essential. To meet the extraordinary exigencies and abnormal conditions of the first period an unusual ministry was called forth. It was composed largely of men who were rugged, heroic, mighty in faith, often eccentric, and generally young and unmarried. It was itinerant, in a sense impossible and unnecessary now. It was intensely evangelistic. The times called for the hammer and the fire, and they broke and kindled every-where. Self-training and an apprenticeship in the actual work were all which the exigencies allowed to most of them, and these were sufficient. Yet without disloyalty or ingratitude we may trace the clear evidence that its peculiarities were excellences only because they were adapted to unusual conditions, that it was weakest when the surroundings approached most nearly to the average circumstances of our day. Very often even Asbury's spirit strangely drooped, and his tongue lost its wonted power, when he faced audiences

like those to which a large portion of our preachers must now regularly minister. It is most significant that, as the years passed, this peculiar type of evangelist became rare in the older States, and moved steadily westward with the advancing frontier, to practically disappear, now that the railroad and telegraph have well-nigh obliterated that pioneer life in which his great triumphs were won. Now and then, in remote places, the old conditions recur, and some young hero appears to win success with the old-time methods. But this very man, if sent to an ordinary charge, seems shorn of his strength, and, conscious of his deficiencies, is likely to turn to the schools for help. A sense of need of intellectual discipline and furnishing has filled with candidates for the ministry our Conference seminaries, colleges, and theological schools.

In the early years of Methodist colleges the proportion of young preachers in attendance was so large as to give character to the whole collegiate spirit and work. Our colleges then were as strongly denominational, and almost as distinctively a training-school for ministers, as biblical institutes are now. It is important to note that most of our Church leaders of to-day were trained in the colleges of that period. But the progress in ministerial training did not end with the colleges. The Church continued to advance in numbers, wealth, and education. By the interaction of the various evangelical denominations, others learned from us a warmer religious life and more earnest evangelism, and our people in turn began to desire a more highly educated ministry. The lengthened pastoral term, the change from circuits to stations, and the growth of large churches in the cities tended to increase the intellectual demands made upon the ministers. Meanwhile the theological element in the colleges had manifestly decreased. The proportion of ministerial students declined. The courses of study were enlarged to admit more attention to scientific studies and modern languages. Dreading the charge of sectarianism, our colleges became less strongly denominational. They provided a better general training, but became less and less able to give the young minister that special preparation which was increasingly demanded. It was to meet this new necessity that with heroic faith and sacrifice the first biblical institute was established. The founding and growth of the other theological schools further illustrate this effort to supply a great need arising out of the changed conditions of our Church life and work. Their history furnishes a thrilling and inspiring chapter in the marvelous record of our first century. Their present condition and prospects confirm the belief that they were providentially established, and that their work is still essential to the prosperity of the Church. A glance at the three principal schools reveals the rising walls of new buildings, and an increase of instructors and students. The former prejudice against these institutions, arising naturally from our early history, has been replaced by cordial interest and generous support.

In spite, therefore, of the anomaly which the entering classes at the Conferences present, we have, in favor of a liberal theological training, the expressed conviction of Church authorities, the manifest demands of the

work, and the consistent historical development of our educational institutions. It is not difficult to trace sufficient reasons for this conviction, demand, and development. The minister is called to perform an arduous intellectual task, and the more intelligent and highly educated his congregation, the more urgent need he has for thorough mental discipline and extensive knowledge. Yet we can hardly conceive the progress made in education in the United States during the past hundred years. Public schools of all grades, academies, colleges, and universities have been multiplied, and their courses of study and methods of instruction constantly improved. Our people have shared as largely as any in the benefits of this advancement. Hundreds of thousands of the sons and daughters of Methodist homes have graduated from the high schools, academies, and colleges of the land, and entered into all the honorable professions. They have taken their place in the congregations almost every-where, to be instructed and edified by our ministers. And increasing multitudes of our children and youth press into the schools and colleges. Other things being equal, the influence of the preacher over the educated minds in the community, and especially over the cultivated young people, will be in direct proportion to his education. His training is almost sure to decide whether he will win or repel these classes. As we find less scope for adult evangelization and more need of working for the conversion of the young and the edification of believers—as we see the preacher becoming less a prophet and more a pastor—we see that our training must aim to make the Methodist minister less distinctively like Elijah or John the Baptist, and more like Paul.

Again, as religion is attacked in the name of knowledge—as the higher education becomes more secular and even antichristian—the young ministers of Christ should prepare themselves to meet intelligently, and answer successfully, the objections of learned unbelief. Though they may not often do this directly in the pulpit, the words which are spoken there should be weighty, and they will find in private conversation and less formal discourse abundant opportunity to use all their resources in the service of ~~Christ~~ and of their fellow-men.

There are, doubtless, many churches which are well satisfied with pastors of very moderate education if they have piety and native gifts; but these are the smaller and remoter fields, and even in most of these superior education would greatly increase the usefulness of the ministers.

The nature of the training advocated presents also strong arguments in its favor. The misconceptions about this in the minds of students, as well as the people, are most unfortunate. The chief object of a college and theological course is thought by many to be the acquisition of a certain amount of learning consisting largely of Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, Hebrew, and abstract theology. The student's mind is thought to be painfully filled with erudition for which the people care little or nothing, in consideration of which he is adorned with a diploma or degree as a reward for years of difficult and expensive drudgery. False notions like these foster sincere prejudice, and turn many young men aside from their

wisest course. Misunderstanding the nature and aim of the higher training, able young preachers, while yet immature and untrained, yield to the pressing calls of some ardent presiding elder, and doom themselves henceforth to a lower plane of work and usefulness. Even after a college course the young graduate, weakened by misconceptions concerning the theological course, is often over-tempted by the desire to grasp prematurely the joys and rewards of the active work, especially if further allured by the prospect of a speedy marriage, and of release from college debts. If these could all understand how the churches are longing and praying for consecrated and thoroughly trained young men, and also what great things the college and school of theology can do for them, then surely the men of talent, and courage, and grace, would brave delay and expense, would postpone salary and marriage and untimely service, and seek to add to Pauline devotion a truly Pauline training.

Briefly stated, the aim of the college is to educate the student as a man. It undertakes to send him forth more of a man than when he entered. The physical health of the students is receiving in most colleges increasing attention. The spiritual welfare of the undergraduates is generally the object of earnest solicitude. Yet the main object is to increase the intellectual power and knowledge of the student. The college promises to discipline his mind, to give him a broad outlook upon the vast fields of human knowledge, to furnish him with a goodly store of useful learning, and to teach him how to find and use the further knowledge he may need. As Dr. Hopkins says, "A sound body, a disciplined mind, a liberal education, and right character ought to be the result of a four years' course in college." It is because these great objects are so generally attained that the churches continue to build and support colleges, and fill them with their most promising sons and daughters. It is because it is soon to increase his power for good that the earnest young candidate for the ministry is urged to secure the thorough discipline they can confer.

But the college has educated him only as a man. His Christian classmate who intends to be a lawyer or doctor has had precisely the same course. For the arduous work of the ministry he has had no special training. The theological school promises to train him as a minister. It invites him to apply his disciplined powers in a systematic way, under experienced leadership, to a course of study which will directly prepare him for his arduous and sacred calling. It promises a great increase of knowledge and power for his special work. It narrows its field to those studies which center in the Bible. It considers the origin and inspiration, the component parts and vital unity, of the sacred book. It helps him to read and interpret the two Testaments in their original languages ; it sets forth the doctrines of the Bible in a definite system, and shows their relation to each other and to the discovered laws of human thought; it unfolds the mighty developments of the divine revelation in the history of the Church; it teaches him how to prepare and deliver the message with which he is intrusted; it offers him the benefit of ages of experience concerning the work of a preacher and pastor. From the Bible and the experience

of the Church he is taught the lofty science of a minister's work, and, so far as possible, is instructed in the sacred art of winning souls and building up the Church of Christ. With leisure, system, and wise guidance he begins that discipline for his high calling which should end only when he ceases his work. He receives often in a single hour suggestions, growing out of long experience, which shall save him from disastrous mistakes. A sentence or a look may give him an inspiration which shall prove a lifelong blessing. Directions as to methods check his wrong tendencies and give new power and greater assurance of success. He faces the hardest problems of life and thought when his teachers are present to help him either to solve them or to calmly leave them unsettled. He adds to his consecration hard study under able masters, and to his study practice under skillful guidance.

He will not then be abashed before the young doctor who has taken his college and medical degree, and has had hospital practice before attempting to heal the bodily diseases of his fellow-men. He will not then be put to shame even by the musician who has spent years of weary study and painful practice at home and abroad before seeking to win the money and applause of the pleasure-loving public. Seeing the wisdom of the children of this world, the children of light should for their holy cause endure an equal or severer discipline. It is doubtless true that some are providentially debarred from full courses of study. Simpler training may be better adapted to some minds and for some peculiar fields. Higher education has its peculiar perils. The courses of study have their defects which should be pointed out and remedied. But experience and reason seem to direct to our colleges and theological schools as the means of the best available training for those young men who are to become Methodist ministers in the immediate future. It is none too good for the average candidates for admission to our Conferences. As never before, conservation should mean for them thorough preparation. It is their present chance for heroic Christian service.

Those who are in the forefront of the battle should pass the word back to the young recruits that the great Methodist host will soon need large accessions of thoroughly trained leaders. Through the REVIEW and the Advocates—through the Board of Education and the Sunday-School Union—by bishops and presiding elders, by pastors and teachers—the message should be given to our young men and boys in even the remotest churches, and Sunday-schools, and homes, that Methodism now calls, as never before, for thoroughly trained ministers, for workmen who in the bright light of the twentieth century shall not need to be ashamed.

Garrett Biblical Institute. CHARLES F. BRADLEY.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

DENMARK is not at all behind in Christian activity, notwithstanding the popular expression, the "phlegmatic Dane." At a recent general meeting in Copenhagen of the clergy and laymen of the various religious tendencies, there was a very broad expression of feeling in regard to the necessity on the part of all the Churches to exert their influence in the direction of moral reform.

The first subject discussed on that occasion was that of "Work Among the Unbelieving Masses in the Capital." Copenhagen is in even greater measure the heart of the little kingdom than is Paris that of France or Berlin that of Germany, for every seventh Dane is a "Copenhagener." All the good, as all the evil that appears in Danish life, has its center in the capital. The Danes sometimes point to the many and well-filled churches of their principal city, but there is still a dearth there in religious work. All Copenhagen numbers but forty-three thousand communicants, and in two parishes there are but two churches for the care of one hundred and ten thousand souls.

Now, in order to correct this evil, there is a serious work to be done outside of that of building churches and preaching sermons; there is need of food for the hungry and clothes for the naked, if the fourth estate in Christianity is to be brought into the fold. Denmark needs also a good Christian press that can meet and combat the teachings of the radical organs, and Copenhagen has but half the number of physicians and pastors *pro rata* that are found in the provinces.

A discussion concerning the relation of the Church to the school drew forth a unanimous protest against the so-called "unconfessional schools" —that is, those without any religious teaching. Finally the great struggle with the "Social Democracy" reached the platform, and was wisely treated by a professor of political economy. He warned the Christians of Denmark against setting up any special social political programme; he considered the Christian social party in Berlin as a significant warning in this matter. Quite a feeling was manifested in favor of popular schools of political economy for the working-men of the towns and the peasants of the rural regions. On the whole, this convention was a great success, and encouraged those present to work hand in hand, with the help of God, for the elevation of the masses by means of Christian effort.

THE GERMANS IN EAST AFRICA are making a serious study of the products of the land, and the probabilities of making their experiment in colonizing a success. They have left the flat lands of the coast, and gone into the interior, on the higher lands, where they find a fertile and beautiful terrace from 3,000 to 4,500 feet in elevation. Beyond this lies a barren steppe, which is followed by another very fertile plain that extends to the lakes of Central Africa. The entire territory is intersected by a well-formed and clearly defined river system.

Several of these rivers are navigable for a long distance, thus affording a prospect of a future water-way for commerce ; but their greatest promise is their possibility in the line of irrigation. In these regions there are all climates, from the tropical glow to the coolness of the higher Alpine lands. The animal world is rich and varied, while the soil is already covered with rice and tobacco in large quantities. In the cultivation of this the Negroes use a sort of lance-like pick with which the earth is very slightly turned, and this is all the cultivation that it ever gets.

The various gums are obtainable in large quantities, and successful experiments have been made with tropical vegetables, as well as with the coffee-berry and vanilla. The smaller coffee-trees find a valuable protection under the mighty bananas. The German agents and missionaries report that all they want is railroad transport to extract great wealth from the region; and it will again be remembered that this is in East Africa, which has hitherto been a doubtful territory, and one very little known in comparison to the western coast. This report accounts for the zeal lately developed there by the German nation in extending a protectorate over lands claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The agents report the population as divided into three groups, the bulk of which is composed of very peaceable Negroes, from whom no obstacle is feared in the development of the German colonies. They hate the Arabs, and make every possible concession to the whites with a view to obtain their protection. The Arabs form the second factors in this population; the third is composed of Hindus and a few English, and these are chiefly occupied as sheep-dealers.

THE SECTS in Bavaria seem of late to cause a good deal of uneasiness to the "Superior Consistory" of that country, which examined and reported on their *status* quite minutely at a recent convocation. Their growth is said to be largely owing to the crookedness of the late crazy king, who was quite inclined to give free play to all who would help him make headway against the tyranny of the Catholic powers which rule Bavaria with an iron sway. These sects are reported as belonging to ten different denominations, which are reduced to five principal and important ones, namely, the Baptists, including the Mennonites, the United Brethren, the Methodists, the Plymouth Brethren, and the Irvingites. The Mennonites, numbering about four hundred and fifty souls, are represented as a very quiet people, holding aloof from all propaganda, and growing only as their families increase. The Darbyites, or Plymouth Brethren, number but twenty-nine, and have but one small group and chapel in the town of Oeltingen. There is also a small body of Lutherans, in no connection with the German Lutheran Church. The Irvingites were introduced into Bavaria in 1862 by Professor Thiersch ; they number about 200, and have small meeting-houses in Nuremberg and Augsburg.

But the most aggressive, according to said report, "are the Methodists from America, who have a considerable money assistance from that country. They began their activity in 1876, and since that period they have

chosen the large cities, as Munich, Nuremberg, Fürth, as the centers of their agitation. From those points they spread, in 1877, to Augsburg and Hersbruck, and in 1879 to the village of Jochsberg. Since 1884 they have greatly increased their efforts, and have forced their way into all important points. Since 1885 they have penetrated other cities of Central Franconia, and also some villages ; they have even drawn into their circle the University city of Erlangen.

"They sent a minister to Bayreuth, and soon gained a few followers there, and from that point they extended their operations to the following places in Upper Franconia: Pegnitz, Creussen, Kulmbach, Weissenstadt, Münchberg, Stammboch, Naila, and Wunsiedel ; these places they have visited (using the same word that they do for the plague) with their religious *declamations* (*sic*) and divine worship. In Lower Franconia they have established posts in Kitzingen, Schweinfurt, Schwebheim, and Oberalterheim, near Würzburg ; this latter town itself they have not reached. Hitherto they seem not to venture to visit Catholic points, but to prefer to gather their booty from their Protestant co-religionists, whom they seem to regard as semi-heathen." Now we warmly recommend this circumstantial report to our missionary authorities for adoption, with thanks to the Upper Consistory for the thorough work which they have made of it. But we must not fail to add, that it is closed with the hopeful promise that the police authorities are now threatening to put a stop to this invasion of a foreign sect, and prevent this unauthorized intrusion on the native evangelical organizations.

"CATHOLIC PIETY" is at present the subject of considerable discussion in theological circles, because of an effort now being made by the Jesuits to increase the number of objects of devotion on the calendar. There are doubtless a good many ingenious little accidents in the Catholic popular code that no one in particular is responsible for, such, for instance, as the pious fable that angels brought the holy house of Jesus from Nazareth to Loretto to form the basis of the most noted shrine in Italy, if not in the world, etc. But these and thousands of other like superstitions do not form an essential element of Catholic piety.

But when we see how, within the last two hundred years, the adoration of the "Heart of Jesus" has spread over the entire Catholic world, and this in spite of the opposition of churches and even of some of the popes, we are led to consider this a dogma of the creed for which the Church at large is responsible. If devotion is to be considered a test of practical piety, then this worship of the "Heart of Jesus," proceeding from the Jesuit camps, must be considered as the most essential element of Catholic Christendom. But even this seems not to be enough ; there lately appeared before the Catholic world a new "devotion" on the programme ; namely, the worship of the Eucharist. There recently gathered in Freiburg, in Switzerland, a considerable body of Catholic dignitaries, clergy, and laymen in the form of a "Eucharistic Congress." It seemed at first as if it would exert no influence, but it is now pressing itself on public

attention, and will probably soon occupy the foreground. Its religious object is to cultivate a special devotion for the Holy Sacrament, and it looks now as if the German Catholics will adopt the *cult.* Such devotions have their periods, and change according to the fashions. This new object of adoration will probably prove a rival to Mariolatry and the worship of the Heart of Jesus.

The Schools of Rome present a very interesting feature of activity just now in the Eternal City. Under the Papal rule they were beneath contempt; and at the entrance of Victor Emanuel into the capital it was virtually a city of *illiterates.* The first movement of the new city government was to establish a popular school system, in order to take elementary instruction, such as it was, out of the hands of the clerical element. In the year 1870 over twenty schools were opened, eight of them for girls, and the number of pupils rose to about 4,000. In addition to these, evening schools, as well as those on the Sabbath, were opened, largely for those whose occupation prevented them from attending during working hours. At the same time a free evening school was established for the working-man, and this soon became very popular.

The girls of Rome had been greatly neglected; few of them ever learned to read or write, and to these special attention was soon paid, which they responded to by flocking to these municipal schools. This work has been growing for the last fifteen years, and about 12,000 pupils have been thus educated. The elementary schools that are open only on Sundays or holidays or of evenings are among the most successful, showing an eagerness for instruction in those classes that had been most neglected. During the first five years instruction was entirely gratuitous, but many parents preferred to send their children to private schools, though poor, to the promiscuous commingling of their children with the very ignorant and depraved masses. To satisfy a demand, the government established graded schools with higher studies, the remuneration to be according to the grade. These schools are also quite successful.

The next move was to open a series of Kindergarten schools, mainly with a view to take care of the children of the working-women while they are at their daily toil; these supply a great want, and are assisted by private benevolence, especially those for the poorest classes. To aid in this work the Protestant missions of the various churches, especially the Waldenses, established popular schools. The Free Church also saw its duty and the opportunity to lay the best foundation for evangelical work in the establishment of elementary schools. And the denominations that could not open day-schools made up for this in founding Sunday-schools for Bible teaching.

But the ancient powers of Rome could not remain quiet in the midst of this to them dangerous activity. "The Society for Catholic Interests" founded new clerical private schools for girls. The teachers in these were of course the "Sisters" who had received the certificate of competency for the work. But this line of competition did not become very

decided until the advent of Leo XIII. He placed himself at the head of the opposing agitation, and devoted a portion of the Peter's-pence to that cause. A revival of the clerical schools all along the line was the result, but special effort was made to keep the girls in the schools of the Church. This competition has, of course, drawn many pupils from the other schools, though the "Free Church" continues its activity. But the total result is now a city well provided with schools of all grades, instead of the most illiterate city in Christendom, as it was under the Papal rule.

THE KULTURKAMPF in Prussia seems to have reached a fixed station, and it may now be profitable to study the status of the alone-saving Church in Italy, as a matter of comparison, where measures are also being instituted for a compromise with the State. The Holy See has the right of free correspondence with the episcopal powers of the Roman Catholic world without the least interference of the Italian government. The *Placet* and the *Exequatur* do not exist in the kingdom of Italy. No clerical official can be called to account for an ecclesiastical proceeding in the line of his office. Any stranger who visits Rome as a clerical embassador enjoys all the personal guarantees granted to Italian citizens.

The exercise of ecclesiastical authority is entirely free from any State interference, and there is no obligation on the part of the State to help in the enforcement of the authority of the Church. In the city of Rome the seminaries, academies, colleges, and Catholic schools have their authority alone from the pope without any interference on the part of the civil government. The gathering of chapters, councils, and all other religious bodies depends in no wise on the permission of the government. The appointment to all ecclesiastical offices depends alone on the Church; but the appointees, in order to receive their salaries, must be Italians, and must inform the government of their appointments. In view of this autonomy of the Church, the misuse of ecclesiastical power toward the State is very severely punished.

All civil registration is left to municipal authorities. The individual is free in the matter of baptism of his children, in manner of marriage, and in the forms of burial. All religious fraternities are deprived of their corporate rights. Their property has been taken by the State and pensions have been awarded them instead, and they have no longer the right to teach. All the property of the Church has been seized by the State, and government securities are awarded instead. The government's financial guarantees to the Church are still in force, and it is said that the Vatican is now inclined to draw from the State the revenues that it has so long rejected.

THE BISHOPRIC IN JERUSALEM seems at last settled, according to the announcement of the Prussian journals. It has been an open question for the last five years whether England or Prussia should enjoy the privilege which had hitherto been divided between them. A division has been reached there since. The Prussian crown will maintain its own bishopric

in the capital of Palestine. This is in accord with the contract of Frederick William IV. with the Established Church of England, which has been in force now forty-five years, with an endowment of £15,000 sterling, and an annual interest of £600.

Since the establishment of the seat three bishops have occupied it, and all were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whether called by the English or the Prussian side. The first bishop appointed by the English Church was Alexander, of King's College of London, by birth a Jew, of Posen. His successor was Gobat, of Switzerland, who entered the Holy City in 1846. In 1879 the Englishman Joseph Barclay was ordained Bishop of Palestine. He lived but a short time after his arrival in the city of Jerusalem.

Since that time the seat has remained vacant, because the Prussians were unwilling any longer to submit to an English veto on the Prussian appointments. The English would not yield, and thus a separation has followed, which is doubtless the best solution of the problem. It is said that the first occupant of the "German Protestant" bishopric of Jerusalem will be the German missionary, Hefter, who has labored in Palestine already, and is quite familiar with matters there.

In Hungary there seems to be quite an ardent desire for a revival of Protestant effort. The Theological Academy in Presburg has given a sign of life in publishing its first annual, containing information that it is very desirable to spread abroad in order to raise the *morale* of the institution. There are ten teachers in the faculty, some of whom have recently appeared before the public with their pens, thus showing the spirit which animates them. The Protestant Church of Hungary has been in the dark as to the color of its academic teachers and their veritable creed. This academy is the servant of the Lutheran Church, but does not seem to have been at all decided or zealous in its labors. Its tendency has been toward a positivism that has not been acceptable to the body that mainly sustains it. Instead of training up a class of decided theologians, it has sent forth a race of negative Protestants.

According to this annual there were last year fifty-five students in attendance. In the summer *semester* there were thirty obligatory studies, but several of them were of a philosophical rather than a theological character. There is a Unitarian congregation in Buda-Pesth that seems to be quite attractive to the loose school of Protestants, and it recruits its numbers in a peculiar manner. It possesses full liberty of action, and a sort of independent jurisdiction. Divorce cases are treated by it so liberally that those that have been for years in court are settled by it in a few weeks. This facility draws a membership.

Bavaria, under its Prince Regent, is trying to improve its relation to the Vatican. The pope found it quite a difficult matter to get along with the mad king at the head of the government, and Dr. Döllinger so influential in the Church. It was, of course, necessary for his holiness to sym-

pathize with the country in its bereavement, but he at the same time gave it to be understood that he could not indorse a great deal that had been done in the spirit of the modern State. The Prince Regent took to the advances of the pontiff a little too readily in promising that he would have a new understanding with the Vatican that would be more acceptable to it. The question immediately arose whether there are not some other parties to such an agreement besides the prince, and who in the nature of the case would have much to say regarding it. The pope, it seems, is better pleased with the actual condition of things now than with the general theory of the relation of the State to the Church. It is quite singular that a State so thoroughly and blindly Catholic should give the pontiff so much anxiety.

DRESDEN is to have a new enterprise among the home mission workers; it is nothing less than a practical school for training in the work for all who are inclined to devote themselves to the cause of benevolence in its various phases, where they may obtain a thorough insight of the most effective ways and means. In the morning there will be regular lectures by men of age and experience, and in the afternoon the pupils will go forth on their respective errands of Christian activity. It is interesting to note the curriculum of studies: 1. History and Theory of the Home Mission, by Pastor Lehmann; 2. The Organization of the Home Mission in Germany, by Pastor Höhne; 3. Fraternities and Asylums; 4. The Institution of Deaconesses, by the rector himself; 5. Bible Societies and Christian Literature; 6. The Home Mission in War — that is, "Campaign Deaconry;" 7. The Home Mission in its Relation to Children and Young Girls; 8. Young Men and the Homeless and Unemployed. And then we find The Needs of the Great Industries, the War against Drunkenness and Prostitution, Aid and Comfort to Discharged Criminals, etc., etc.

HOMILETICAL LITERATURE for the masses seems to be greatly on the increase in the Fatherland. Among recent publications we notice one entitled "Sabbath Rest," a devotional book for all the year. The court-preacher of Dresden is a fiery and magnetic preacher, and has just published ten of his sermons bearing the name of "The Earthly and the Heavenly Zion." Pastor Pahneke, of Darmstadt, seems to be a very practical theologian, to judge from his Christmas greetings, entitled "He is Called the Prince of Peace." A pastor in Suabia treats of the parable of the Prodigal Son in twelve sermons that are well worthy of so prolific a subject. Pastor Jordan gives to the mourners a series of sermons, entitled "Why Weepest Thou?" in which he beautifully teaches how to find comfort even in sorrow. Pastor Huhn's sermons on the Passion of our Saviour has already reached a third edition, a very rare occurrence in Germany. They owe their popularity to a warm and enthusiastic testimony to the "excellence of the death of Jesus." This is a new and very desirable phase of pastoral work in Germany that is much needed.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE DISASTER TO OUR WEST CHINA MISSION.—The Church has already been made acquainted with all the immediate facts concerning the disaster which has suddenly overtaken our mission in West China. The letters of the missionaries in Chung-king, as printed by our Church press, show that the rising against the "foreigners" was premeditated, a circular posted June 28 in public places in the city announcing an attack for July 2. The mobs which forced their way into the mission buildings on that day seemed to be concerned only with looting and the destruction of the property. No attempt to take life was made, and no serious personal injuries were inflicted upon those who endeavored, as did Mrs. Gamewell, to defend their property. The American and English buildings were soon robbed and demolished, and the Catholic buildings, including the cathedral, reduced to ashes. The missionaries found shelter in the office of the district magistrate, and thence escaped down the river. On the third of July wealthy native Catholics were sought out by the mob, the desire being, of course, to obtain a large booty. City troops were used in one case to protect a wealthy native Catholic, who defended his property so energetically that no fewer than twenty of the mob were killed. From Chung-king the rising spread to the capital, Cheng-tu, and throughout the province, and the Catholics, who, as will be seen on another page of this department, are very strong in Sechuen, have suffered severely.

Outside of Chung-king, on the Yang-tse-kiang, and Cheng-tu, the capital, there are no Protestant missions in the province of Sechuen, which is the largest of the eighteen provinces of China in area, embracing 166,800 square miles (equal to New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined), and one of the largest in population. The China Inland Mission entered Chung-king in 1877, and Cheng-tu in 1881. The August number of the organ of the society, "China's Millions," states that there was a staff of six missionaries, including two ladies, at Chung-king, with three more at Cheng-tu, two of whom were ladies. Our West China Mission was begun in 1881, and had, at the time of the outbreak, eight missionaries—Messrs. Gamewell, Lewis, and Crews, with their wives, and two representatives of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The yearly reports show that the mission was fairly prosperous, ten converts being part of the results of last year. The average attendance on Sunday services was one hundred and thirty, and there was a Christian community of about seventy-five, including six members and sixteen probationers. How soon the missionaries will be able to return and resume their work it is not possible to indicate. Probably the excitement in the province will soon subside, and a way will be opened to the re-establishment of the interrupted missions. No thought will be entertained of abandoning the field.

We add a paragraph from one of Superintendent Gamewell's letters concerning the cause of the riots:

In a recent letter I mentioned an attack by a mob on our premises in the suburbs on June 6. This matter was promptly reported to the local magistrate and to the American Legation at Peking. I was apprehensive of more serious trouble, as the official treated the affair lightly. A few days later the magistrate called on me and requested that we cease work on our building for awhile, stating as a reason that the military examinations were about to occur. I told him that the houses were within a foot or two of the eaves, and I would like to finish them to that point if possible. He insisted that we must not build at present, and work was stopped on June 20. He had a good deal to say about there being dissatisfaction about our building, which was disturbing a dragon which resided on the hill and which controlled the fortunes of Chung-king. I replied that we were negotiating for land for a year, and that our object in purchasing property was generally known; that no one had any objections to make while negotiations were under way; that the property was not purchased altogether, but first a part, and then after an interval of a month or more the remainder was secured; that he himself had stamped our deeds and had issued proclamations stating that we were going to build a hospital and girls' school, and were not to be molested. He said he knew all this, and that the talk about the place was only "hsien huas"—malicious talk. We ceased building, and moved into the city on June 20.

Roman Catholic Missions in China.—Catholic missions in China have suffered much from violent persecution since they were established in the sixteenth century. They appeared to have gained a strong foothold in the first hundred years, and were even regarded with favor by the emperor; but a collision with European powers stirred the natural dislike of the Chinese people toward foreigners till it became active hatred, and Catholic Christianity was all but extinguished in the outbreaks which followed. It is only within the last half-century that the ground alleged to have been lost in the general revolt against the missions has been regained. So far as Catholic organization is concerned it covers the whole of the empire, there being one or more vicariates apostolic in every one of the eighteen provinces, making a total, according to the latest reports from the Propaganda Press in Rome, of 29 vicariates apostolic, 28 bishops, 485,403 Catholics, 2,460 churches and chapels, 440 European missionaries, 303 native priests, 1,804 schools with 25,219 pupils, and 34 seminaries with 666 seminarians, besides colleges, asylums, hospitals, and the like. In the province of Sechuen, where our own West China Mission was established, the Catholics have three vicariates apostolic, with 120 churches and chapels, 82,879 converts, 81 European missionaries, and upward of 4,400 pupils in 400 schools. The figures are large, embracing about a sixth of the Catholics, missionaries and pupils, in the empire; but the province is a very populous one, being credited by Catholics with 30,000,000, which is 10,000,000 larger than other authorities allow. The rising at Chung-king, which compelled our missionaries and those of the China Inland Society to leave their property and flee for their lives, appears to have extended throughout the province, and to have resulted not only in great loss of property to the Catholics, but of life also. According to the indefinite dispatches to the Associated Press, a number of native

Christians have been killed, and churches and chapels have been burned or demolished.

It is a matter of general observation and comment that the Catholics are liked far less by the Chinese than are the Protestants. While in the demonstration at Chung-king Protestants as well as Catholics were mobbed, our missionaries tell us that the popular hatred of the Catholics was one of the chief causes of the outbreak, with all its disastrous consequences. They know Catholicism only as a French religion, Catholic missions in China having long been under the diplomatic care of the French government. Consequently Catholics were identified in the native mind with the course of France. What reason the Chinese have for looking with doubt and distrust and hatred on every thing French is well known; but how thoroughly the sympathy of the Christian world, outside of France, was given to China in the late wanton attack of the French forces on the empire, the masses of the Chinese have no means of knowing. They only know that the Catholics are Christians, and that Protestants are also Christians. They have not learned to make proper discrimination between Christians and Christians. The inconvenience of the French protectorate has been so long and so strongly felt by the Catholic missions that the pope has been endeavoring to get rid of it, and negotiations have been in progress for the establishment of a nuncioship at the court of Peking. The Chinese government has helped this project along, and but for the strenuous opposition of the French government the papal plan would have been speedily carried out. France has done her utmost to avert the blow at her influence in China, and has been so far successful that the pope has consented to send Mgr. Agliardi, not as a papal nuncio to Peking, but as a prelate charged with a temporary mission. He is to make inquiry as to whether it is desirable that direct diplomatic relations be established between the Vatican and the emperor. France has, of course, means to influence the pope in this matter. She could have proceeded to the abolition of the Concordat, and could have harassed the Church in many ways if the pope had refused all concessions. There is little reason to doubt, however, that the Catholic missions would suffer less under Vatican than under French protection.

The Massacres of Catholics in the Chinese Peninsula.—The long strip of territory extending from the tropic of Cancer to the southernmost part of Cambodia, with the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Tong-king as its eastern boundary, and Siam and Burmah as its western, was known until a quarter of a century ago as Annam. The province to which this name is now restricted is the central part of this narrow strip. The lower province, Cambodia, was seized by France in 1862, the middle province, or Annam, in 1874, and the northern province, or Tong-king, a year or two ago. Three centuries ago all this country, together with Burmah and Siam, was a part of the Chinese Empire, and China claimed suzerainty over the Annamese districts till France set up her protectorates. Catholic missions have existed in this territory more than two

hundred and fifty years, and if the reports which we find in Catholic authorities are to be relied on, these missions have been a complete success from the beginning. In less than three years 6,000 pagans were baptized, and in fifty years over 200,000 converts had been won. Persecutions subsequently arose, and many converts and priests were put to death; but at the close of the second century, in 1857, there were, according to the vicar apostolic of Western Tong-king, no fewer than 530,000 Christians in the Peninsula.

At present there are seven vicariates apostolic, four of which are in Tong-king and three in Cochin China, or the provinces of Annam and Cambodia. The missions are sustained by the Paris Society of Foreign Missions, whose representatives have been laboring in that territory for two hundred and twenty-five years. How many priests and churches and communicants were in the Peninsula at the outbreak of the recent French war we have no means of learning. In what is known as Indo-China, which includes Burmah, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula, as well as Tong-king, Annam, and Cambodia, there were, it seems, in 1882, 110 missionaries, 143 native priests, 485 catechists, 934 churches, 8 seminaries, 605 schools with 8,906 pupils, and 240,707 Christians. This is a smaller number of Christians than were reported in Tong-king alone more than a hundred years ago. How the discrepancies are to be explained we do not now undertake to inquire. It would be a matter of no little difficulty, especially when the further fact is mentioned that a high rate of increase is claimed in recent years, 35,415 adults and 382,379 children having, it is said, been baptized between the years 1880 and 1883. Whatever may have been the degree of prosperity enjoyed by the missions the recent persecutions have arrested it and turned the tide the other way.

The massacres, which up to the middle of the present year had quenched the light of 17 missionaries, 15 native priests, 200 catechists, and over 40,000 converts, began in the province of Yunnan, in south-west China, in 1882. That province was then in the hands of a governor noted for his hatred of foreigners. Being requested by the viceroy, Li Hung Chang, to visit the English consul, the governor gave this characteristic reply: "Excellency, if you want my head, take it; but visit a European, never!" Under a governor of this spirit the populace would need little urging to rise against the priests, particularly as the priests came of a nation then seeking to wrest the suzerainty of Tong-king from the empire, and preached a doctrine at variance with the religion of the government.

Father Terrasse was the first to suffer. His house was attacked by a mob at night. Finding defense useless, he withdrew to the chapel with his followers, and after giving the last absolution opened the door to the furious populace, and said: "Here am I to answer for all." He was soon cut to pieces. His converts were sought out and killed, their property was devastated, and the fury against Christians spread to other parishes, and in village after village men, women, and children were remorselessly

butchered. The first serious French reverse in Tong-king, when Rivière was killed, roused the people of that province against the priests, and the work of extermination began, under the semblance of legal procedure. Father Béchet was arrested and taken before a mandarin. In less than an hour he and five of his followers had been tried and executed.

After a short respite persecution broke out again near Hué, and more summary proceedings were taken. Four parishes were destroyed in one day and fifty converts decapitated. Some purchased life by renunciation of the faith, but the great majority met death without flinching. A native priest was warned to save himself by flight. "Those who wish to go," he said, "may do so; but as for me, I will remain with those who will not abandon their homes." He and part of his flock were massacred. Terrible scenes were enacted from Tong-king south to Cambodia. Fire and sword laid waste on every hand, and the most fiendish cruelty was displayed. Surrounding a house, the rabble would fire it, and if the inmates attempted escape from the flames they were pierced with lances. Their screams of agony were answered by savage shouts of exultation, and scarcely a village escaped the popular fury. It was not always that speedy death came to the poor victims. The most horrible tortures were employed: the cangue, a sort of cage, which does not allow its prisoner to escape, to sit, to lie, or to rest; slow strangulation; impalation on iron hooks; hanging by the thumbs; kneeling on spiked chains; dislocation; mutilation; tearing of the flesh by hot pinchers; the stake; and many other methods, of barbaric cruelty.

Father Châtelet was among the brave men who met death with calm resignation. He awaited his executioners at the open door. When they told him to descend to the place of decapitation, he replied: "I shall not go so far; if you want my head, come and take it here." Thereupon the mob fell upon him, and with lance and saber and bludgeon made an end of him. In some cases bodies of native Christians under the leadership of the missionaries attempted, behind rudely constructed forts or intrenchments, to defend themselves. Fathers Dangelzer, Girard, and Closset, with 4,000 Christians, withstood a siege of two months, and were finally rescued by French troops. In these persecutions, which have, it appears by recent dispatches, been renewed, 500 churches were destroyed or pillaged. The work of reorganization, when the country becomes sufficiently settled to permit of reorganization, will be a slow and difficult one; but Catholic zeal will, no doubt, be equal to it. Would that the Christianity they establish were as pure as their zeal is fervent and their conduct heroic!

A dispatch from Tong-king, dated September 10, states that 700 Christians have been massacred and 40 villages burned in the province of Manhoa, and that 9,000 Christians are perishing of hunger.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Considering the amount of attention now given in English periodicals to the question of disestablishment, it is evident that great change in the status of the Anglican Church is relatively near at hand. This is the logical outcome of the extension of the suffrage and of the perception by all but bigots that the Church of England is no longer the Church of the people of England, for a majority of them dissent from the State Church. In the July number of the "Westminster Review" the leading place is given to a discussion of "The Endowments of the Church of England." In reviewing an article by E. A. Freeman, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, on disestablishment and endowment, and another by the Dean of Wells with the same title, the anonymous writer excepts to Mr. Freeman's statement, that the endowments of the Church of England are national property. The writer holds that if the ancient endowments are to be kept for the uses which the pious founders contemplated they should be handed over to the Church of Rome, with which the Church in England was originally incorporated; but he maintains further that the intentions of the founders, pious or not, have little or nothing to do with the matter. The State has the moral right, and not merely the power, to disregard the dictations of the dead when it is expedient to do so. It is on this condition that the State allows the gift to be made. The ecclesiastical endowments are, in the view of the writer, national property of the nature of public trusts, whereof the beneficiaries are, in the aggregate, the people of England and Wales. The question of the expediency of disestablishing the Church is a separate one, in his judgment, from the question of the right of disendowment. There is here also a very useful article on "What and How to Read," in discussion of the recent volumes by Frederick Harrison, the Earl of Iddesleigh, and others. There is a very important paper in this number worthy the study of all political students, on "The Basis of Individualism," which has nothing to do with the individualism against which the ecclesiastics inveigh, but the basis of individual rights. We do not remember to have seen for years an abler paper. The number closes with a very full and accurate account of the socialist movement, by Annie Besant. This is a very specious paper, putting socialism at its best, and showing that the English phase of it is really the outcome of more or less exact social philosophy.

In the "Quarterly Review" (English) our readers will find a study of "Ancient and Modern Bribery," with special relation to the corruption by which the union of Ireland with England was secured—a dreadful story, for the facts in which England is paying, in political unrest and in the decay of the value of land, a terrible price. The most noticeable paper in the volume, however, is a paper on "Modern Christian Missions," which are being very widely discussed in English periodicals. This article is strongly in favor of Christian missions, while one in the "British and For-

eign Evangelical Review" is strongly critical of them. The particular point made is, that the experience of Christian missions shows that Christianity is not ethnic, but human, and capable of lifting up the most debased tribes to participate in the fellowship of regenerated humanity. Concerning India, which in the thought of some is the least fruitful of mission fields, though the noblest of all in some respects, the writer gathers the testimony of distinguished observers that Christian missions have produced a great moral and intellectual revolution, Lord Lawrence testifying that the missionaries had done more to benefit India than all other agencies combined; that they were the instigators of all the philanthropic reforms; that to them is due the extension of primary education, the introduction of a continually growing school of the language and literature of England, the freer communication by railways, the drawing closer of the political and social relations with the seat of empire, so that there are now nearly two millions of natives professing Christianity. The work seems to be more successful with the Hindu population, carrying living Hindu thought out of the old benumbing pantheism toward belief in a personal God. Caste is being undermined and relaxed, the education of Hindu women being the death of caste. With the Mohammedan population things are different. Possessing a purer faith, having no idols to get rid of, no philosophical bondage to escape, no horrible customs to throw aside, the Indian believer in the Koran has generally more solidity of character and more steadfastness of habit, and hence is more difficult to convert. The work in China and Japan, beginning later, has not yet reached the Indian proportions, but the success has been proportionately great. Missionary labor remains the most characteristic feature of the Christianity of the present century. We live in the era of advance and of conquest, and this movement has come providentially to answer the unbeliever's taunt, that the religion of Christ is effete. The Christian faith within a century has doubled the Church in England, and sent out its missionaries into all lands. Nothing more alive can the world show.

In the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review" for July will be found a strong criticism of Professor Huxley's recent articles on Cosmogeny. The paper on the "New Testament Deacon" shows that in the Roman, the Anglican, the Greek, the Protestant Episcopal Churches—and he might have added our own—the New Testament office of deacon does not exist, being absorbed as an order in the ministry. As an analysis of the true work of the diaconate the paper is valuable. Those who would study ritualism at its foundation head will be much interested in the discussion of John Henry Newman and the tractarian movement. The paper on "A Century of Protestant Missions," to which we have already alluded, is a remarkable one in respect of both its aggregation of statistics and the bold statements which are made. The results of modern missions, the writer holds, are numerically probably as great as those from the preaching of the apostles from the day of Pentecost to the close of the first century; yet he endeavors to prove by statistics that the number of

heathen and Mohammedans now in the world is vastly greater than when Protestant missions began a hundred years ago; that these systems are not merely increasing the number of their adherents by the ordinary birth rate, but are annually making more converts than the Christian missions. He italicizes the statement that no religion which has been formulated into a system, or is possessed of sacred books, has been even arrested in its progress by our modern missions—Hinduism, Islamism, and Buddhism, standing their ground and making proselytes by tens of thousands. But these facts only lead the writer up to the statement that the Christian Church is able in Christ's name to conquer all systems of error and to make disciples among all nations. A very striking exhibition of the need of greater liberality on the part of the Christian Church is shown in the statements, confined to Great Britain, that the total income of all classes in England is $5,000,000,000; of the government, $450,000,000. Expenditure—for the cost of collection, $50,000,000; for education, $25,000,000; for the army and navy, $150,000,000, the cost of the recent Egyptian expedition of England being almost $50,000,000. Looking at the matter from another point of view, the writer shows that the English people spend annually on beer, spirits, and wine more than $600,000,000; on tobacco in various forms, $65,000,000; on amusements, $62,000,000; on missions, $6,250,000. The writer makes a strong plea for unity in mission work, and emphasizes what all observers of missions know, that there has been a great waste in the rivalry of the Churches in the same field. The trouble does not seem to lie with the agents abroad, who usually get on very well together, but with the societies at home.

The article of greatest interest to our readers in the "Edinburgh Review" for July is that on Bishop Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers." The writings of the Fathers are now being examined afresh, and new editions of their works, with notes and comments, appear both in England and in America. It is in the writings of the Fathers that we see how in the second century elements were introduced of a very different character from those which appeared in the first, while in the third and fourth centuries we see the development of a situation which on one side is regarded as the necessary outgrowth of the earliest Christian teaching, while in another it is looked upon as an evidence of its distortion and corruption. The great fallacy of Roman theologians, and of all prelatical theologians in fact, lies in the assertion that it is impossible to conceive that the mediæval ecclesiastical system could have been developed out of a state of things quite dissimilar. We have had in our own time the extravagancies of Irving developed out of the bald Presbyterianism of the Scottish Church. The task of Bishop Lightfoot, in his comment on the epistles of Ignatius, was not merely to show that the narrative of the martyrdom of Ignatius was neither impossible nor unlikely, nor is it confined to the mere separation of genuine from spurious or forged matter. Dr. Lightfoot makes the important point clear, that the Christians between Trajan and Pliny betrayed no sign that any new policy on the part of the Roman

Empire towards the Christians was at that time adopted. A very important fact in ecclesiastical history is, that the long form of the Ignatian epistles was dominant during the Middle Ages, and yet is now universally admitted by all scholars to be spurious. Some passages in this long form were held to favor the Roman supremacy, while others were supposed to maintain the divine authority of the episcopal order. The long form was, therefore, passionately adhered to by the ecclesiastics of the time. It is also important as embracing a forgery, undoubtedly of the eleventh or twelfth century, which has been the basis in the Roman Church for the development of Mariolatry. The importance of a critical estimate of the letters ascribed to Ignatius is seen in the fact that Hall, Bishop of Exeter, in his work on "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted" he quotes from those passages which the sagacity of Vedelius had cast aside as interpolations. It is very creditable to the candor of Bishop Lightfoot that, notwithstanding the influence of authority, he holds himself reverently before the truth.

The conclusion reached by Bishop Lightfoot and confirmed by the writer is, that in the epistles known as the Middle or Vossian form, we have substantially the genuine work of Ignatius. This admitted, there comes the question whether the language of Ignatius really lends itself to the high sacerdotal and sacramentarian theories which it has been supposed to favor. Of the strength of Ignatius's language on this point there can be no question, but concerning the aim of Ignatius there is a great uncertainty. Dean Milman long ago found that the purpose of Ignatius was not to raise the sacerdotal power but to enforce Christian unity, and Bishop Lightfoot has proved decisively that no other conclusion is admissible. Submission to the bishop is indeed required, but equally so to the presbyters and deacons. The conception of the episcopal office is wholly different from the ideas which prevailed in the latter years of the second century, and throughout these letters there is not the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry. The alternative against which Ignatius fights is isolation and self-will. The letters throw a strong light on the unequal development of the episcopate in different parts of Christendom; and when we come to the eucharistic phraseology of Ignatius, the key to his expression is found in his own definition, that the blood of Christ is declared to be his love and his flesh is represented by faith. The letters, therefore, plainly represent a time of transition between the spiritual faith of the apostolic age and the comparatively rigid dogmatic system which had established itself in the days of Irenæus. So it is made evident that the word Catholic in the Ignatian letters has no reference to orthodoxy as opposed to heresy; it means simply that which is general or uniform. The whole work has immense value as showing how the earliest faith in a divine kingdom of truth and righteousness, sympathy and love, working against and fighting with the kingdom of evil, was brought into contact with influences which tended to weaken, destroy, and corrupt it, and how still later there came changes which overlaid the pure Gospel of Christ with a net-work of iron formulas, put forth as living principles.

The "Contemporary Review" for August gives large space to the recent electoral contests in Great Britain, followed by a very valuable paper by Sir John Lubbock on the "Study of Science." The author writes strongly concerning the purifying and ennobling influences of science upon religion, and how, whatever their motives have been, men of science have contributed to the spirit of real Christianity. He claims that scientific study does more than benefit a nation in a material point of view; it strengthens and raises the individual character. To theological readers, however, the paper on the "Present State of Research in Early Church History" will be of the greatest interest. The paper has value as showing where the much-famed Tübingen school failed in its attempt to show that Judaism had few differences of shade; in its identification of the stand-point of the original apostles with that of the rigidly legal and exclusive Jewish Christians; in its identification of the Pauline teaching; in its resolving of all antagonisms in the Church of the second century into the antithesis, Jewish and Gentile Christianity; and in several other important particulars. With regard to the field of early Church history it is asserted that in the case of several very important works we have obtained new and better manuscripts; original works which had been lost have been recovered from the books in which they have been elaborated; valuable discoveries have been made by means of the inscriptions found in the catacombs at Rome, and new—hitherto unknown—Christian primitive writings have been discovered, as, for instance, "The Teaching of the Apostles." With regard to the gospels, the discovery of the "Diatessaron" of Tatian has furnished new materials. With regard to "The Teaching of the Apostles," which, on account of its omitting so much which has been dear to bigot has been the subject of intense controversy, the writer holds it as secure that the booklet which was known in the Church of Alexandria as "The Teaching of the Apostles" is the one which has been discovered by Bryennios. How important this discovery is, may be seen from the fact that in this document dogma has no development specifically its own, but belief and life appear in closest and most perfect union. The candidate for baptism is instructed in the moral law, in the Christian system of ethics, and when he comes to the ordinances and rites of the Church he gives the baptismal formula in the words of Matthew; advises that we baptize in running water, but expressly adds that if such water be not at hand, sprinkling in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is sufficient. The vast importance of this with regard to the exclusive views of our Baptist brethren is seen from the fact that scruples about the mode of baptism were of very late origin in the Church. The Doxology, which concludes the Lord's Prayer, concludes the Teachings, and the Teachings are the *earliest* authority for the Doxology that we possess. It also appears that the Lord's Supper was an actual meal from the expression, "After ye have taken your fill, then give thanks." The document is fatal to prelacy, showing, as it does, that the apostles did not ordain a bishop for every church as their successors. There is no wiser teaching anywhere with regard to

the labor question than that contained in this document. How full of wisdom are the words which follow: "If he that cometh be a wanderer, ye shall help him to the best of your power, but he shall not abide with you longer than two or three days, and that only if it be needful; but if he be willing to remain among you, inasmuch as he is a handicraftsman, then he shall labor and eat; but if he understandeth no handicraft, take ye care, according to your discernment, that no Christian live among you as an idler. But if he love not so to order his life, then he is one who speculates with Christ for gain. Keep yourself far from such."

In the August number of the "Nineteenth Century" there is a great variety of matter, but nothing of marked importance except the paper on the question "Are Animals Happy?" The writer, while declaring that the general review of mankind and of high scientific authority is that animals are not happy, being engaged in a constant struggle for existence, yet argues that there is much reason to believe that they possess a happiness of their own very closely comparable with that of man except on the side of high intellectual development. The points made are, that animals do not commit suicide, which fact creates a presumption that there is no misery sufficiently unbearable and hopeless to cause self-destruction. Secondly, the perpetuation of a particular species would indicate that the life of that species has, on the whole, been a happy and prosperous one. In the very acute investigation of human pleasures it is said, that taking the double pleasures of man's life, local or ganglionic pleasures largely predominate both in volume and intensity over the central or brain satisfactions. He concludes that in all animals the primary instinctive acts were originally highly pleasurable, and that in all flourishing order of animals sufficient pleasure still attaches to them to insure their continuance. Against this solid substratum of pleasure which accompanies the activities preservative of individual life and of the species, four things are to be set off, famine, exposure to weather, bodily injury, and violent death. In respect to death, much is made of the great skill that the carnivora have in effecting the death of their prey, but the writer certainly does not make sufficient account of the fiendish delight which the cat tribe, whether large or small, take in playing with their victims before killing them, or of the agony of those victims in expecting death. Yet it is a fact that the victims of wild beasts perish speedily under circumstances either of struggle or flight which probably minimizes the suffering, and when it is considered that the nervous organization of a wild animal, and of our domestic animals also, is much coarser grained than that of civilized man, it is probably true that the amount of pain which the lower animals suffer from a particular wound is vastly less than that which a man suffers. A wolf will give no cry of pain if its leg is cut off, while a dog will howl if you tread on its toe. Similar differences have been observed between Europeans and the American Indians. We have personally seen a noble horse which, stepping into the burrow of a prairie dog, had broken his leg

so that it hung helplessly; yet the horse went about on three legs grazing as he did before. The general conclusion of the writer is, that so far as bodily pains and pleasures are concerned, if in humanity there be a surplus of pleasure over pain, there is in brutes a still greater surplus; that, if in humanity there be any thing like an equality between pleasure and pain, there is in brutes a large preponderance of pleasure; and that if in humanity pain predominate, then in brutes the proportion should be reversed.

Mr. Gladstone, as an appendix to the articles, prints an assurance from Professor Dana of Yale College (whose work Professor Dana declared that Mr. Gladstone neglected), that he is in complete accord on all essential points with Mr. Gladstone in the belief that the first chapters of Genesis and science are harmonious.

The August "Bibliotheca Sacra" opens with a paper on "Pastors and Acting Pastors in the Congregational Churches." While the article is of special interest to the Congregational body it is also of interest to us as showing how happily, in our organization, we have escaped from the mistake of definitely attaching the ministerial character to an actual pastorate. This is followed by a discussion of the conditions and limitations of probation by President Fairchild, of Oberlin, in which he maintains that the unfavorable conditions in which some are born do not imply an unfair probation in the case of any mortal. They imply an inequality, but not injustice. He holds that a second probation is essentially a contradiction. There is also a very beautiful paper on "The Family and the Church," by the Rev. Edward Trumbull Hooker, of California. "The Revised Version of the Old Testament" is discussed by the Rev. Dr. S. I. Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, in which the author concludes that the changes have not been made in the interest of any school of critics, and that the Bible is not a dead level from Genesis to Revelation, but an ascent from Paradise to the New Jerusalem, and that it is not a legitimate use of the Old Testament to seek in it proof texts for all the doctrines that are found in the New. The writer is strongly in favor of the adoption of the Revised Version of the Old Testament by all English-speaking Christendom, and he believes that it will be finally adopted by all the Churches. While admitting that the English company represented superior scholarship, he also feels that it would have been well if they had paid more heed to the clear discernment and common sense of the American reviewers.

The "Confessions of an Episcopalian," in a late number of the "Forum," are very interesting, and will call forth caustic criticism as well as praise. Theoretically the doctrinal position of the Protestant Episcopal Church is singularly free; practically, the writer admits that it has its full share of intolerance. He also declares that there are many factors working together to depress the intellectual life of the clergy. He says, what other denominations have noticed, that "the exaltation

of the service has become practically a depreciation of the sermon." Few sharper things have been said than the following: "Men are often attracted to our ministry because of the comparative ease with which success may be won, if so desired, upon a minimum of brain waste." He also pointedly declares that the episcopate has for many years been degraded by the strength of party feeling in the Church, and by the obtrusion of the money qualification. "Better far now than stores of grace, for an ambitious presbyter, is a rich wife." At a recent convention a witty parson suggested that the form of consecrating a bishop should be amended by the introduction of an additional question: "*The Presiding Bishop:* Have you satisfied yourself that you are financially qualified for the office and work of a bishop? *Answer:* I think so, my father-in-law being my helper." Indeed, if any one outside the Protestant Episcopal communion had written this paper he would surely have been denounced as a slanderer of the brethren; but we find scattered along through this article statements like these: "It is within the legal power of a bishop to keep a man out of the ministry because of his own intellectual incapacity to understand that man's thought. . . . The episcopate has always been the great barrier to intellectual progress."

The July number of the "Andover" has a symposium for two on the question, "Is Christian Union to be Organized?" by Dr. C. A. L. Richards, an Episcopalian, and Samuel L. Caldwell, D.D., a Baptist. Of course the Episcopalian sees possible union and absorption in that Church. Dr. Caldwell, while admitting the evils of the divisive tendency, has a clear eye for the advantages which have accrued to Christianity because of the independence and individualism which have been fostered by the Protestant spirit. His position is, that "not unity, homogeneous, heavy, inviolable, but unity in diversity; free, various, interactive, is the ideal state." Rev. Edward A. Lawrence finds confusion of thought in "Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World," but yet recognizes that he is aiming at an important truth, that a thrill runs through the whole length of the cable that unites us to God, the secret of the world lying in the divine thought and purpose which quicken all nature, and that there is unity and continuity of law in all worlds; something distinct from law, and yet using law to form a universe." Under the caption, "A Political Positivist," Noble C. Butler unfolds the political philosophy of Machiavelli, and shows the importance of its method in modern thought. There is a *résumé*, by Rev. Mr. Dike, of the conditions of religion in a portion of Vermont in "Sociological Notes."

The August "New Englander" has only two papers of value to theological readers, one by Philo R. Hurd, on the "Scriptural Grounds of Divorce," and another by L. W. Bacon, on the "New Method of Church Discipline," from which he appears to have suffered. The paper on divorce is strongly in favor of a strict interpretation of the Christian teaching. He urges the ground which our own Church steadfastly

affirms, and asks the pregnant question: "Were the Church with united voice to fix its ban of condemnation upon every deviation from the letter of the Master's law in this respect, who can doubt that the evils of an easy divorce would speedily begin to disappear?"

That Horace Bushnell is still a great force in the religious thought of America, and a great force abroad, appears in the August number of the "Andover Review," in a paper by Dr. S. H. Chesebrough, on the Theological Opinions of Horace Bushnell as related to his character and Christian experience. The paper is a very sympathetic and instructive one. With reference to the increase or decrease of the American Indians, Dr. William Barrows concludes that they are wasting, and writes the following vigorous sentence: "The civilization which cannot make citizens out of Indians, or the religion which cannot make Christians out of aborigines, must become modest in its pretensions." The paper on the "Ethics of Tips, Fees, and Gratuities," by H. C. Bierworth, is interesting, and really touches a great matter in respect of its influence upon the large number of students that yearly wait at our great hotels.

The September "Unitarian Review" has an opening paper by Rev. Dr. C. A. Bartol, in his terse and epigrammatic style, on "The Unitarian Idea and Situation," in which the central idea is that we ought to cease from attempts at defining or making any final statements whatever about the infinite, above, within, or beyond, and yet he declares that a sect without ideas of its own to urge has no title to be free or to exist. "If Unitarianism is to continue, it will be by reason of the special convictions it is charged with." Can any living man tell us what Unitarianism is to-day? J. W. Chadwick in an exceedingly well-written article on the "Basis of Religion" does not find it in science, but in the race-experience of the unspeakable wonder and compelling beauty of the world—those passions for the beautiful and good which have already done so much to make the structure of religion the majestic thing it is.

We are indebted to the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" for a very striking paper on "The Significance of Anatomical Anomalies." The writer, Professor Thomas Dwight, M.D., while admitting that these anomalies have always furnished one of the favorite arguments of evolution, declares that the attempt to explain them by heredity is a failure. "The Philosophy of Prayer," by the Rev. M. Riordan, is a strong presentation of the Christian privilege, reasonableness, and duty. The article on the Russo-Greek Church is particularly interesting as an exposition of that Church from the Roman stand-point.

The July–August issue of "Christian Thought" opens with a paper by Dr. Deems on the "Superstitions of Science." President Buttz, of Drew, writes most helpfully and in a scholarly fashion, of the apologetic value of Paul's beliefs. Those who have wondered at the persistence with which the bishops of the English Church and the House of Lords have forbidden

marriage with a deceased wife's sister will find the explanation in the paper in the July "Church Review," by the Rev. George W. Dean, S.T.D., on "Marriage, the Table of Kindred and Affinity." Bishop Huntington's article on the "Labor Question," and Mr. Dunlop's on "The Early Creeds of Asia," are both excellent specimens of magazine work. The number furnishes little else of interest to our readers.

The August "North American" preserves its reputation for varied interest. John A. Kasson, formerly our envoy abroad, has an excellent paper on "Bismarck as a Man and as a Minister." The Rev. S. M. Brandi, of the Society of Jesus, epitomizes his reasons for being a Romanist. It will not greatly impress those who are familiar with the impostures and interpolations of the documents on which the Roman Church bases its exclusive pretensions. Quite a card for this review is a paper by that radical of radicals, Henri Rochefort, on "Radicalism in France." Henry George, whose great ability and great influence are remarked of all, gives an account of the condition of labor in Pennsylvania, and shows how there has been an advance in the condition of the laborers secured by their co-operation. The famous negotiations with General Sherman are now described by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and much light is thrown upon a mysterious matter.

We have found ourselves intensely interested in the "Indian Evangelical Review," a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, edited by the Rev. K. S. McDonald, M.A., and published in Calcutta. Its various papers on mission work, Jainaism and its founder (this last by our friend, Ram Chandra Bose), on the Natural History of the Bible, on Miracles and Modern Missions, are all so intelligent and helpful as to convey a high impression of the ability of the missionary workers in the great Indian peninsula.

The August number of the "Homiletic Review" opens with a very strong article by Dr. George R. Crooks on the "New Theology," and in criticism thereof. Professor George H. Schodde answers the question, "Has Modern Criticism Affected Unfavorably any of the Essential Doctrines of Christianity?" in the negative.

Our bimonthly survey of the periodical literature of the world, the results of which are given here only in part, deepens the conviction long held that questions of religion are still the most important in the minds of men. We take up no periodical, even of secular origin and intent, in which some of these great questions are not discussed. That Christianity is a great force, an abiding ferment, a victorious power, we would be compelled to believe if we should approach the study of periodical literature from the stand-point of the unprejudiced student; for that which occupies so much space, commands so much ability, and attracts so much attention cannot be numbered among the things of the past.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Systematic Theology: A Compendium and Commonplace Book, designed for the Use of Theological Students. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., President, and Professor of Biblical Theology, in the Rochester Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 758. Rochester: Press of E. R. Andrews.

IT is a remarkable fact that no one of the many very able theological writers of the Baptist denomination of the last half-century has, till now, given to it and to the church-public a comprehensive treatise on Systematic Theology, though a number of able monographs have appeared. But this lack is now abundantly supplied by the issue of the work the transcript of whose title is given above. The author is well known to American students in theological and biblical learning; and his position at the head of one of the best theological schools of his denomination entitles his utterances to special consideration, as representing the opinions of the most conservative and probably much the largest proportion of the Baptists of America. For while the Baptists have no specific and regularly formulated and authoritative doctrinal standards to which even its ministers are expected to subscribe, it is still no doubt true, that there is less variation of doctrinal opinions among them than in almost any other considerably large body of Christians. They have some decidedly able biblical scholars, and an association of these has produced a revised version of the Bible scarcely inferior to any other, except in respect to a class of texts, forced interpretation of which was required in order to give support to their own distinctive notions. Many of their more general theological works will not suffer in comparison with any others; and now that they have this comprehensive digest of Christian doctrine, they may be said to have contributed their share to our theological literature.

The work appears to be made up of the matter accumulated by its author during the many years in which he has occupied a chair of Biblical Theology and has been actively engaged in the work of teaching. This fact in respect to the genesis of the book has also determined its form and methods of presentation. It is especially a book for students rather than for more general readers; a compilation of the commonplaces of theology, arranged in an order adapted to the wants and convenience of special students. The division and arrangement of its matter, though evidently the author's own work, does not vary very widely from the forms usually adopted in such productions. Its style is directly didactic and dogmatical, giving first of all the determination of each subject, and afterward the proofs and arguments by which its conclusions are sustained. The author seems to think, and in this we agree with him, that one who undertakes to teach should have settled convictions of his own. The enunciation of positive opinions is better adapted to lead out the thoughts, and to promote intelligent inquiry, than the suggestion of doubts or the state-

ment of notions simply as mooted questions. But by submitting his positions to proofs and arguments he removes them from the simple authority of the teacher, and subjects them to the learner's own decision after weighing the offered proofs, a process in which, if ably conducted, the tutorial *ipse dixit* often fails of its needed support.

Dr. Strong's positions on nearly all points are those of a thoroughly orthodox and conservative theologian of the Calvinistic-Baptist type of fifty years ago. In treating of the Bible, which, in common with all Protestants, he accepts as the only and sufficient rule of faith, he touches but lightly upon the many difficult questions raised by modern criticism, and of course he leaves his students without the needed preparation to grapple with them. His theory of inspiration is not extreme in either direction, nor especially definite, though perhaps sufficiently so. The changes of opinions and doctrinal attitudes which have seemed so conspicuous in some places, and which are thought by many to call for a revisal of the old creeds and for re-statements of many Christian beliefs, do not appear to have at all reached him. He abides within the ancient landmarks, and his work is an example of the kind referred to in the article in our last number respecting the utterance by the theological schools of doctrines which have ceased to be heard from the pulpit. He is a Calvinist of the straitest, *bluest* type. He states the doctrine of the "decrees" with a directness and clearness like that of one of the Westminster divines, and with a boldness that might shame all the make-shift modifications of modern predestinarians of the New England schools, from Jonathan Edwards to N. W. Taylor and C. G. Finney. And yet even he finds it expedient to utter a caution against an over-free and unskillful presentation from the pulpit of this doctrine, although he so strongly insists upon it as of the essence of the Gospel.

In the wide domain of Eschatology, which has appeared to many to be especially beset with difficulties, he seems to find every thing as plain and easy of acceptance as did the least critical preacher or poet of the last century. The materialistic and sensuous aspects of those earlier conceptions are accepted without any apparent misgivings, and arguments and proof texts are adduced for their support and illustration without any regard to all that has been shown as to the fallacy of the one kind and the irrelevancy of the other. Only occasionally he shows signs of having some knowledge of some of the most formidable of the objections to the views he advocates; but usually he says nothing about them.

He of course pays some attention to the non-Calvinistic theories of religion—and we are free to grant that in his statements and discussions of Arminianism the subject is fairly treated, and also with marked discrimination in respect to its various and variant types. Wesleyan Arminianism he seems to estimate as only a little less excellent than his own favorite "doctrines of grace;" but he does not fail to detect the falling away from that system by some of its nominal interpreters in this country—especially Whedon and Raymond. In whatever relates to the specific beliefs and practices of the Baptists he is a "Pharisee of the

most straitest sect." That any thing but immersion in water can be Christian baptism is in his view quite too preposterous to be thought of, except to be repudiated, and that it should be given to any except believers is equally absurd; and as no one can be accounted a member of the visible Church unless he has been baptized (that is, immersed), and because the Lord's Supper belongs only to those of the visible Church, "close-communion" is a sacred obligation—the arguments and practices of such Baptists as Robert Hall and Mr. Spurgeon to the contrary notwithstanding.

But passing by all these points, which at their worst are but as a few "dead flies" in a large mass of very precious ointment, we may speak of the system of Christian doctrines here given, as a whole, as thoroughly biblical and eminently evangelical. The presentation of the doctrine of sin, of atonement, of justification, and of the Christian life, are all most excellent, and with these wrought into his thinking and experience the Christian teacher will not be likely to lead men very far astray.

We are glad that such a book has been published, for it contains very much that is valuable; and in respect to its errors, they are not to be dreaded while the truth is left free to combat them. By its production its author has made not only those of his own denomination, but the whole Church universal, his debtors.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues. Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most Ancient Authorities, and Revised.
The Revision of 1881 and 1885 Compared with the Version of 1611; Showing at a Glance what Words are Common to Both, and by Diacritical Marks and Foot-notes what are Peculiar to Each. By RUFUS WENDELL, Author of the "Student's Revised New Testament." Bourgeois, 8vo, pp. xviii, 886, and xiv, 276. Albany, N. Y.: Revised Bible Publishing Company. Sold by Subscription.

The Revised Bible has now a place among us, and is asserting its claim to the character of the sacred book of English-speaking Christendom; and very evidently it has come to stay. Its right to supersede the older version is not hard to establish, on any grounds of criticism, or of respect to its truthfulness in the reproduction of the sense of the original; but to dispossess the incumbent after two and a half centuries of possession is a much more difficult process than to prove that it ought to be superseded. The English Bible of the version of 1611 has become a large and important element of the body of English literature, in the development of which, much more than any other agent, it has been a controlling and fashioning power. Its forms and phrases have entered into the thoughts and the speech of the people, and men unconsciously talk in its phraseology and think according to its methods. On the religious side it (and not the originals) is the Scripture of the English-speaking world, and scarcely less so its incorrect texts and its faulty translations—of which it contains a not inconsiderable number—than what is genuine and faithfully reproduced, are usually accepted as a final authority by the

learned and the unlearned alike. The praise that has been so freely bestowed upon it, in about equal fullness, by friends and foes of its teachings, needs not to be either abated or qualified. It is a marvelous production, and so true to the spirit of the original "Scripture inspired of God," that of it may be safely predicated all that the Church declares when she says, respecting "Holy Scripture," "that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite to salvation."

But after all this is granted, it must still be conceded that the version of the Bible given to us by our ecclesiastical predecessors is not entirely perfect. The critics so declared when it was first issued, and with the growth of biblical learning have come fuller and clearer demonstrations of its faultiness; and so well has all this been known, that not only do we hear attempted corrections from the pulpit, but even in our Bible classes and Sunday-schools fledgeling critics are accustomed to try their hand at textual rectification and emendation, thus making it necessary that even our children should be taught what are, beyond all doubt, the correct words of the Bible. The often repeated and substantially correct statement that in the old version every great doctrine is generally correctly set forth must also be accepted with some slight modifications. The literalistic conceptions of the things taught in the Bible that prevailed in the Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no doubt intensified the materialistic imagery of the Bible, and have given an undue degree of anthropomorphic costume to its statements of things spiritual, while the one-sided conceptions of the divine sovereignty induced by their reproduction in the English Bible a notion of God's relation to his creatures that varies somewhat from the truth, and which still prevails chiefly where the English Bible is used.

But when all its confessed imperfections are made the most of — which, however, are not of very much account in comparison with its real excellences—English-speaking Christians do well to love and honor the Bible of their fathers, to venerate even its accidents, and to speak gently of its faults. And yet even that deference should demand that its faults and imperfections should be faithfully remedied by those upon whom this duty is now devolved, by reason of their wider learning and better opportunities. In this spirit we are assured the new version was undertaken and has been accomplished. The completed work is now in the possession of the Christian people of these lands, to be considered on its merits, and the time for rendering their verdict should not be abbreviated, for the duty cannot be hurried. Nor is there much doubt in respect to what that verdict will be. Confessed incorrectness will at length discredit the most rhythmical and euphonious forms of words, and the seeming harshness of the substituted forms will become less and less offensive by familiarity. There need, therefore, be no concern, as there can be but little doubt, about the Bible in English which our grandchildren will read. Probably no other so large, so grand, and so successful a single

piece of learned labor as that of making the new version of our Bible was ever before done, and future ages will render due honor to those who have contributed to so noble a design.

The edition of the "Revised Version" named at the head of this notice is especially worthy of favorable attention. It is a complete English Bible, and by the help of certain unobjectionable marks of reference and very brief notes all the changes from the old version are clearly indicated —a needful arrangement to aid in passing in thought from the old to the new forms. The editor deserves the thanks of all readers of the Bible, and the public will be benefited by his work in proportion as it shall be used.

Four Centuries of Silence, or from Malachi to Christ. By Rev. R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London; Author of "The Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," "Studies of the Book of Jonah," etc. 12mo, pp. 258. $1 50. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co.

The marked increase during the last few years of works upon the theme indicated in the book-title given above, is a hopeful indication of the thought of the times in respect to the study of the New Testament. Between the date of the last book of the Old Testament and that of the opening of the Christian dispensation there is a blank in the biblical history extending over four hundred years. To this period belong most of the books of the Apocrypha; but the modern practice—induced by the regulations of the Bible societies, which publish only the canonical Scriptures, of excluding those books from the English Bible—has resulted in a general unacquaintance with their contents among all except special biblical students, to the extent that beyond any other period of the Church of God this important and fruitful era is unknown—a blank in men's conception of the sacred history of the world—even among ordinarily intelligent people. There are extant a good supply of valuable treatises on the subject, historical and critical, and it may be said that its literature is rich and abundant; but it is almost universally written for scholars, and therefore not adapted to the requirement of non-professional readers. This want is now very happily met by the volume whose title stands at the head of this paper.

It is a book that may be read through in ten or twelve hours, distributed into twelve chapters, each devoted to some definite subdivision of the general subject, beginning with Malachi, "the last of the prophets," and ending with John the Baptist, "the voice in the wilderness." In its style, both of language and thought, it is such as may be readily understood by the non-professional reader, and its wealth of learning is conveyed with a desirable clearness and accuracy with only the most sparing use of technical terms. The writers chiefly drawn upon are Ewell and Dean Stanley and Edersheim, the last being evidently the author's special favorite. Less credit is given to Prideaux than he deserves, while Schürer is scarcely named, for the sufficient reason that his work in its completed form was not published at the time these chapters were written. The original

literary sources of the period, the Apocrypha, Josephus, Philo, and incidentally some of the profane historians and poets, are known by all as existing, but they have almost wholly ceased to be studied except by specialists. At this time it cannot be expected that they will be much used by any others. This state of the case necessitates just such a work as this; and it is a cause for sincere congratulation that the needed manual has been prepared by one so well qualified alike by learning and by literary tact for his self-imposed task. It is a book which the biblical student, minister, Bible-class teacher, and indeed every intelligent Christian, will find a valuable help toward the better understanding of countless references in the New Testament to present and past facts of Jewish and more general history, and to customs and usages as they then prevailed among the Jews or other related nations. The need of such instruction is seen in the changed condition of things among the Jews of the New Testament times as compared with the Israel of the older Scriptures. We could wish that the subject matter of this volume could become as familiar as the text of the New Testament, for such knowledge would serve as a key to unnumbered enigmas.

Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. Ebrard, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by Rev. William Stuart, B.A., and Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 407. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

With the steadiness of the changes of the seasons for forty years past the Clarks of Edinburgh have sent forth their successive volumes, four each year, which are as promptly given to the American public by the representatives of their house, Messrs. Scribner & Welford, of this city. Their publications are chiefly, but not entirely, translations, mostly from the German, but a few from the French; they also issue many of the ablest theological productions that appear from time to time in the English language, including some well known American works. Their last issue, whose title is given above, is from the author's second edition, rendered in good English, but faithful to the original. The style of the argumentation is decidedly German, which, however, may be readily mastered by the English reader, and then it will cease to be obscure or difficult. The method of the discussion in this first part is chiefly metaphysical (that of the second part will be historical), but using freely the facts of science, and especially dealing trenchantly with the narrowness and shallowness of modern Materialism and its promulgators, both English and German. The work is highly elaborate and exhaustive, approaching as nearly as the subject will allow to an absolute demonstration of the chief truths and doctrines of Christianity. Perhaps no proofs addressed to men's understandings are competent to overcome that form of unbelief which has its seat in the heart; but in respect to positive disbelief the arguments here presented must be to all fair-minded persons as convincing as they are unanswerable. In the presence of such evidence the superficial cavils of the "Scientists" appear simply contemptible.

First Principles of Faith. By MARSHALL RANDLES, Author of "Forever," "Substitution," etc. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is a concise and compactly arranged system of Christian Evidences, adapted to the prevalent mental *status* and the thinking of the times. The arguments chiefly employed are those that relate to cause and effect —that styled by logicians the "eteological." The doctrine of causality is therefore first considered, and the various opposing suggestions. Next the chief forms of theistic evidence are taken up, and after this the bearings of science and philosophy upon the subject, and the whole discussion brought to an issue in displaying the relations of natural and revealed theology. The whole line of argumentation proceeds with the recognition of the mental freedom of those addressed, and with the implication that the conclusions reached are to be accepted only because the reasons in their favor are more and better than any that can be presented in opposition to them. We can most heartily commend this volume as a frank and manly consideration of the highest problems that can engage the human mind and a defense of the truth so managed that not often are doubts suggested by the arguments employed against them. The work is a reprint from the edition of Hodder & Stoughton, and its author is an honored member of the British Wesleyan Conference.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. With an Historical and Critical Introduction. By F. GODET, Doctor in Theology and Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Vol. II. Translated from the Third French Edition, with a Preface, Introductory Suggestions, and Additional Notes, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, President of Yale College. 8vo, pp. 551. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $3 50.

The American edition of the first volume of Godet's St. John, which appeared from the press of Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls in the early part of the present year, is so largely made up of preliminary discussions that only five chapters of the Commentary of the Gospel were given. Those "preliminaries" very greatly enhance the value of the work, and should be carefully studied preparatory to the reading of the expository notes. The second volume, now given complete, makes the work one of very great value. As a learned, spiritual, and evangelical writer, Dr. Godet has few superiors; and the publication of his St. John, with the accompanying documents, confers a real boon upon biblical students. Its moderate price makes the work generally accessible.

Storm Signals. Being a Collection of Sermons Preached at the Metropolitan Tabernacle on Sunday and Thursday Evenings. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 422. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

What Mr. Spurgeon preaches will do to be printed, and when printed it is sure to be read, and wherever read it will pretty surely do good. This last installment from his apparently exhaustless fountain consists of twenty sermons, not unlike others that have proceeded from the same source, which is saying that they are good.

Gospel Faith Commended to Common Sense. By JOHN LEIGHTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 139. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A good many good things are said in this little volume on a subject of no secondary importance with any—guarding it against superstitions and fanatical interpretation and uses. But it is still capitally defective in failing to recognize and insist upon the essentially supernatural origin and character of saving faith. To reduce the exercise of faith to a form of good works, by which salvation is secured, is not the theory of the New Testament. Paul's faith was not a "common-sense" faith, and the salvation of which he speaks as following after the exercise of faith was not "of works," nor founded in the ethical condition of the character of its subject. Faith saves first, and then "works by love."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS: *The Story of Chaldea*, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria. (Treated as a General Introduction to the Study of Ancient History.) By ZÉNAIDE A. RAGOZIN, Member of the Société Ethnologique of Paris, etc. 8vo, pp. 381. — *The Story of Germany.* By SABINE BARING-GOULD, M.A., author of "Germany, Present and Past," etc., with the Collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A., Author of "The Story of Rome," etc. 8vo, pp. 437. — *The Story of Hungary.* By ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY, Professor at the University of Buda-Pesth, with the Collaboration of LOUIS HEILPRIN. 8vo, pp. 453. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The announcement some time ago by G. P. Putnam's Sons of their purpose to issue a series of histories in the form of monographs, each covering the "Story" of a single nation, seemed to us when first made to be a happy conception; and that early judgment has been more than merely sustained by the several volumes already published. In their prospectus the publishers said—and they seem to have faithfully performed all they promised—

> It will be the plan of the writers of the different volumes to enter into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled—as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves. In carrying out this plan, the myths, with which the history of all lands begins, will not be overlooked, though these will be carefully distinguished from the actual history, so far as the labors of the accepted historical authorities have resulted in definite conclusions.

"The Story of Chaldea" is, first of all, an account of its ruins, and the reports they render to recent investigations, filling more than a hundred pages. The history of the country, as found in ancient literature, is given with all needful fullness, with accounts of its nomad and early great races; the Turanians, and the Cushites, and the Semites, their religion, legends, and myths, all traced with care and skill, and the work brought to a good degree of intelligible completeness, at once readable and instructive.

"The Story of Germany" belongs to the period of real history, and yet its earlier stages lie almost entirely in the regions of myths and legends.

Roman history affords the first authentic accounts of the people, but from other and later sources we hear of the migration of the tribes, and still later of Clovis and Charlemagne, and of the "Holy Roman Empire," the Thirty Years' War, Napoleon's wars, and the modern empire. The story as here given is succinct but very good.

"The Story of Hungary" is a romance, but heroic rather than idyllic. First, it was the land of the "fiery Hun," a race that well answered to that epithet; and after these came the Magyars, no less brave but more cultivated; and these two races have lived side by side, and locally intermingled for centuries, and yet retained their separate existence to the present day. Hungary, successively an independent kingdom, a Turkish province, an Austrian dependency, and, last of all, a component part of the double-headed empire of the Hapsburgs, has maintained through all its changes its own proper nationality, and wrought out for itself a most remarkable history, the salient points of which are well chosen and happily grouped by Professor Vâmbéry.

The method of writing history pursued in this series of "Stories" has many decided advantages, especially for ordinary and non-professional readers. Each volume is complete in itself, and the individuality of each nationality becomes the more distinctly pronounced by being thus treated by itself. The selection of writers of the highest order of talents for the preparation of the several volumes indicate both the good judgment and the enterprise which have governed in the management of the whole undertaking. The mechanical make-up of the books, in type, paper, and binding, is all that can be required, and the set, as a whole, constitutes an unusually valuable historical library.

The Story of Carthage. By ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A., Author of "Stories from Homer," etc. With the Collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A., Author of "The Story of Rome," etc. 12mo, pp. 309. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Carthage, as a nation—its people were never a distinct nationality—had a beginning, a growth, a decline, and an extinction, the last so complete that it has not left a wreck behind it. It begins with the legends of Pygmalion and Dido, which Virgil turned to good account in his Æneid; it was the rival and the most formidable antagonist of Rome, in its career of conquest and spoliation; it was the mother of heroes and statesmen; but it failed in battle, and with its fall its glory departed, except what has defied the ravages of time in the form of splendid ruins. In this volume its story is retold with all the scholarly completeness that the subject calls for and the joint authors are so well qualified to give it.

A History of Greek Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham. 12mo, pp. 509. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The subject which this volume proposes to consider is a very wide one, and very rich in its material, and the author has found himself compelled to omit many valuable details and to avoid giving illustrations by extracts.

The book is full of matter, fairly well arranged, and, while necessarily concisely stated, a good degree of completeness is secured. The progress of Greek literature—which has no rival in all the finer qualities—is traced from the mythical age that produced the Iliad and Odyssey to the simultaneous culmination of both the civil and the literary career of the Grecian people in the times of Demosthenes. The later and not inconsiderable school of Greek literature, as it became naturalized on all sides of the Mediterranean Sea, is not discussed.

The volume is a full one, closely printed, with full pages and small type. With a few additional chapters on the later literature, and a little larger type, and a freer leading, the work would have made two fair sized volumes, which would have been better.

A Budget of Letters from Japan: Reminiscences of Work and Travel in Japan. By ARTHUR COLLINS MACLAY, A.M., LL.B., formerly Instructor of English in Tokio, Japan. 12mo, pp. 391. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The author of this volume, a young American who has spent most of his life in the far East, and who was himself for four years at work in Japan, delineates in the form of letters his experiences and observations in that far-away country. His sketches are remarkably realistic—perfect photographs of the things and scenes described. They tell about the cities and the open country, give some account of the recent history of Japan, especially as respects its relations to Europe and America, with the remarkable changes that are occurring among that strange people. The writer, though not himself connected with the missionary work, evidently was in such relations to those who were (for his own father is at the head of the Methodist mission) that he is able to write intelligently on the subject, and his testimony is most decidedly favorable to both the workers and to the work done. It is written with a good degree of vivacity, and the whole book abounds with valuable information.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume VII, Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, Homily and Liturgies. Authorized Edition. Imperial octavo, pp. 593. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co.

The steadiness of purpose, with corresponding results, that has marked the course of the reproduction in this country of the justly celebrated Edinburgh edition of the works of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, re-edited and enriched, is among the most satisfactory achievements of combined literary and business enterprises. Of the eight volumes originally announced only the last remains to be issued, and the style and make-up of the work cannot fail to be more than merely satisfactory. The matter found in this volume, though not including the works of the most renowned names in the early Church, is still of such value, especially as indicating

the course of thought in the Church, and the development of the order of things that prevailed at the era of Constantine, that only by a careful study of these works can one properly appreciate the character of the transition in the religious attitude of the Roman Empire then about to occur. There was evidently a decline in both the intellectual and the religious forces that had distinguished the writings of some of the earlier Fathers, and also a growth of ritualism, and of deference towards ecclesiastical authority. The beginnings of formularies of both doctrines and disciplines are seen in such productions as the Apostolic Constitutions and the recently re-discovered "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which last now takes its place among the accepted Christian literature of those times. The publication of such a set of works at this time is highly significant in respect to their evidently extensive study among our theologians. The publishers deserve well of the public in the form of large sales of these valuable wares.

The Life of Robert Fulton, and a History of Steam Navigation. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Boy Travelers in South America," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 507. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The name of Robert Fulton is found in the biographical cyclopedias, and a vague notion possesses the mind of our age that there was once a man of that name, and that he had something to do with the beginnings of steam navigation. Beyond this, even in the place of his principal activities where he lived and died, and where is his unhonored grave, very little more is known, and it would not be difficult for a destructive critic to construct a line of proofs that should remand his whole story to the region of myths. But at last he has found a biographer worthy of the real greatness of the man, and the reading public have the opportunity to learn the details of that remarkable episode in our city's history with which the name and fame of Fulton is inseparably connected. The son of a Kilkenny man, but himself born near Lancaster, Pa., in 1765, Robert Fulton was a predestinated inventor, with the resultant perplexities and disappointments of his pursuits. After trying his fortune in several other directions, he at length devoted himself to the practical solution of the problem of propelling vessels over the water by steam-power, and in this he succeeded, to the great profit of the world, and very little to himself; and at last he died poor, and very few know where he was buried.

Mr. Knox succeeds in delineating Fulton's personal history with the needful fullness of details, and, quite naturally, with this is interwoven a succinct history of the origin and growth of steam navigation. The work of collecting and grouping the facts and the incidents employed is well done, and the book makes a valuable contribution to American biography.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Our Youth. A Paper for Young People and their Teachers. Published every week. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Editor. Vol. I. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The appearance of the first volume of OUR YOUTH (bound), December to June, marks a stage in the progress of that new and promising publication. It is in the form of an ordinary quarto about eleven by thirteen inches in size, four hundred and sixteen pages, made up of the first twenty-six weekly numbers, sixteen pages each, substantially incased in finely embossed cloth binding, making a valuable volume for all seasons, and especially well adapted to serve as a household book for the young ones.

OUR YOUTH made its advent at the beginning of December of last year, in obedience to the action of the General Conference, with which body there was a feeling that a periodical of a higher character and broader purposes was a felt want. In that feeling they no doubt reflected the sentiments of the best class of the Sunday-school workers of the Church, and especially those of very many Christian parents, who would gladly replace some of the high-toned secular periodicals read by their children by some others of equally elevated tone and literary abilities, but of decidedly moral and religious character. The idea was a worthy one, but it may be doubted whether the difficulty of its realization was adequately appreciated by those who demanded the new publication. A first-class periodical, designed for both instruction and entertainment, is a work of art, which only real artists can be expected to produce, and these are not so abundant that they can always be supplied as called for. Sunday-school literature has advanced to a comparatively elevated level, and some of its periodicals, notably the "Sunday-School Times" (H. Clay Trumbull, Phila.), have attained to the first grade among the periodicals of the day. It was necessary to the success of the proposed paper that it should become in some good degree the equal of the best of these, and, as nearly as possible, at a single bound leap to the elevation up to which they have labored through long years of growth. The enterprise was one of supreme difficulty, but it has been compassed with a commendable degree of success, though thus far all that has been done is evidently only tentative, but intrinsically good, and very full of promise. Much, however, remains to be done, especially in respect to the *personnel* of the staff of sub-editors and stated contributors, upon whom will largely devolve the work that shall result in success or failure. As indicated by this initial volume, certainly the beginnings are highly propitious, and they seem to promise that in its own sphere OUR YOUTH may challenge a not unfavorable rivalry with any of its competitors. For what has been thus far achieved we heartily congratulate Editor Vincent and his coadjutors, but they must practically remember that what will satisfy as promised, will not suffice as fulfillments.

A Little Silver Trumpet. By L. T. Mead, Author of "The Autocrat of the Nursery," etc. Illustrated by T. Pym. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 00.

Our Sunday-school editor and our publishers are giving practical though not formal effect to the instructions given them by the last General Conference to issue a new volume for each week, by giving an occasional volume. The books chosen are chiefly in the form of fictions—stories, novelettes. Of course they are not great works of art in respect to either their conception or execution, and some of them are reprints not very carefully revised. Because they are the issues of an ostensibly religious publishing house, they must be free from outspoken devilishness, and also have about them a slight flavoring of religiousness. With these conditions, the book named above, which is a fair specimen of its class, conscientiously accords. If it is without positive excellences, it is also harmless, except as it takes the place of other and better reading. The fact that such books are finding a place in our Sunday-school libraries is not altogether assuring as to the mental and moral robustness of the rising generation. As a specimen of mechanical book-making the volume is all that could be required.

Transactions and Changes of the Society of Friends, and Incidents in the Life and Experience of Joshua Maule. With a Sketch of the Original Doctrine and Discipline of Friends. Also a Brief Account of the Travels and Work in the Ministry of Hannah Hall, of Ohio. 12mo, pp. 384. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $1 50.

"The Society of Friends" is chiefly a thing of the past, but, like the wine-cask of the fable, it still emits a grateful odor, even in its decadence. The volume before us evinces both of these facts. The author, now an octogenarian, is at once a witness and a monument of what once was and is not; and his book is about equally pleasing as a reminiscence, and saddening because it is a confessed record of the decay of that which it commemorates. The changes here indicated were originally sure to come, since the doctrinal system of the early Quakers contained incompatible elements which were sure to develop in disharmonies; and yet the world is better because of the "Friends."

The Children of Old Park's Tavern. A Story of the South Shore. By Frances A. Humphrey, Author of "Dean Stanley with the Children." 18mo, pp. 284.

Love and Luck. The Story of a Summer's Loitering on the Great South Bay. By Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, Author of "Five Acres Too Much," etc. 18mo, pp. 350.

Jo's Opportunity. By Lucy C. Lillie, Author of "Nan," "Rolf House," etc. Square 16mo, pp. 175.

All published by Harper & Brothers. These were all summer-time publications, for summer-time reading. The first is a story of children for children—located in Eastern New England. The second has nearly the same location, but is a more pretentious work—for grown-up children. The third is a story of young people, neither children nor fully developed men and women. They all belong to the class of books properly designated light reading.

My Sermon Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, with Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Matthew to Acts—CXXX to CXCV. 12mo, pp. 381. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

These are simply outlines, skeletons of sermons, prepared for practical use by the great preacher of the "Tabernacle." We like the plan on which they are constructed, and would commend their method to all preachers, as less burdensome in preparation and better adapted to popular use than more fully composed discourses. As sketches of sermons they do not appear to possess very special value, and had they been published anonymously the book would probably have fallen dead from the press. And still the book is worth having, and the "notes" may no doubt be studied to profit. The appended anecdotes and illustrations no doubt proved very effective, as they were originally used, but rehearsed at second-hand they might prove somewhat less so.

Parliamentary Practice. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, D.D. Tenth thousand. Revised edition. 18mo, pp. 92. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

As nearly every American citizen—including the women—at some time, and more or less frequently, may expect to have some part in the proceedings of deliberate bodies, it is well that they should be acquainted with the rules by which such bodies are governed. For that purpose we know of no more suitable manual than this one by Dr. Neely. The fact that ten thousand copies have been sold in about three years indicates the favor that it has obtained from the public.

Voyages of a Merchant Navigator of the Days that are Past. Compiled from the Journals and Letters of the late Richard J. Cleveland. 12mo, pp. 245. By H. W. S. CLEVELAND. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Salem in Massachusetts is famous for more than a single reason, and not the least of these is, the fame of its sea-captains, of which renowned company Richard J. Cleveland was second to few, if any, others. A descendant of that honored name here details in a pleasing style the great deeds of his honored ancestor.

Contributions to the Science of Education. By WILLIAM H. PAYNE, A.M., Author of "Chapters on School Supervision," etc. 12mo, pp. 347. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The writer begins with a question which the reading of his title will suggest to many others, "Is there a Science of Pedagogics," to which he responds affirmatively, and attempts to show, at length. How well he succeeds may be an open question after his book has been read. However that may be, it gives not a few valuable hints and suggestions.

The Iliad of Homer. Books xvi–xxiv, with Explanatory Notes, for the use of Students in College. By W. S. TYLER, D.D., Professor of Greek in Amherst College. 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The text is well printed, and the names of the editors and publishers may be accepted as a guarantee of its general correctness; the notes are learned and copious, illustrating both the construction and the history brought into view by the song.

The American Congress of Churches: Proceedings of the Cleveland Meeting, 1886. Published under the Direction of the Executive Committee, Hartford, Conn. 8vo, paper, pp. 212. Price, 50 cents. The Case, Lockwood, & Brainard Company.

The "Congress" at Cleveland, held last May, very naturally and deservedly awakened some attention, and elicited not a little criticism. That was, no doubt, just what its promoters hoped and labored for; and now they challenge further and more thorough attention, and criticism, too, to what was there said, by issuing the whole in a well-prepared volume, which is offered at a very moderate price. Our personal relations to that affair disqualify us for the work of a critic in this case. We will only say that the matter is worth reading.

Mary and Martha; the Mother and the Wife of George Washington. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D., Author of "Field-Book of the Revolution," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 348. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lossing's fame as an explorer of historical details, especially in respect to places and persons, stands pre-eminent. In this volume he gives us the fruits of his researches into the history of those really the first families of Old Virginia which stand as the ancestors of the residents of Mount Vernon. The subject has been pursued with characteristic painstaking, and evidently *con amore*, and as the result we have a really charming set of reminiscences of the olden times.

Into Unknown Seas; or, the Cruise of Two Sailor-Boys. By DAVID KER, Author of "The Lost City," etc. Illustrated. 18mo, pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Rather rough-and-tumble sketches—perhaps real, perhaps not—but no matter which; evidently intended less for instruction than for entertainment of a rather coarse kind.

PAMPHLETS.

Miracles Wrought in Authentication of Christianity not Intended to be Perpetuated. By NEHEMIAH DOANE, D.D. 18mo, pp. 50. Syracuse, N. Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House.

Lights and Shadows of Quakerism. By EDWARD RYDER. 12mo, pp. 211. Pawling, N. Y.: Philip H. Smith, Printer.

Our Future Identity as Related to the Doctrine of Salvation. By G. W. GILLESPIE. 18mo, pp. 16. Published by the Author. Boston: Printed by W. Kellaway.

Bible Truth; or, Omnium Gatherum, Embracing the Principal Points of Christian Doctrine, etc. By Rev. T. N. RALSTON, D.D., Author of "Elements of Divinity," etc. 12mo, pp. 101. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

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